Music in Context

Composing Community in Late Medieval Music

Self-Reference, Pedagogy, and Practice

JANE D. HATTER

VISIT…

LANZAROTE Caliente.COM

Composing Community in Late Medieval Music

When we sing lines in which a fifteenth-century musician uses ethereal polyphony to complain mundanely about money or hoarseness, more than half a millennium melts away. Equally intriguing are moments in which we experience solmization puns. These familiar worries and surprising jests break down temporal distances, humanizing the lives and endeavors of our musical forebears. Yet many instances of self-reference occur within otherwise serious pieces. Are these simply in-jokes, or are there more meaningful messages that we risk neglecting if we dismiss them as comic relief? Musicologist Jane D. Hatter takes seriously the pervasiveness of these features. Divided into two sections, this study considers pieces with self-referential features *in the texts* separately from discussions of pieces based on *musical* self-referential elements. This examination of connections between self-referential repertoire from the years 1450–1530 and similar self-referential creations for painters' guilds reveals musicians' agency in forming the first communities of early modern composers.

Jane D. Hatter is an assistant professor of musicology at the University of Utah. She has published articles on musical communities and intersections between music and the visual arts.

MUSIC IN CONTEXT

Founding editor

Julian Rushton
University of Leeds

General editor

J. P. E. Harper-Scott
Royal Holloway, University of London

The aim of Music in Context is to illuminate specific musical works, repertoires, or practices in historical, critical, socioeconomic, or other contexts; or to illuminate particular cultural and critical contexts in which music operates through the study of specific musical works, repertoires, or practices. A specific musical focus is essential, while avoiding the decontextualization of traditional aesthetics and music analysis. The series title invites engagement with both its main terms; the aim is to challenge notions of what contexts are appropriate or necessary in studies of music, and to extend the conceptual framework of musicology into other disciplines or into new theoretical directions.

Books in the series

Simon P. Keefe, *Mozart's Requiem: Reception, Work, Completion*
J. P. E. Harper-Scott, *The Quilting Points of Musical Modernism: Revolution, Reaction, and William Walton*
Nancy November, *Beethoven's Theatrical Quartets: Opp. 59, 74, and 95*
Rufus Hallmark, *'Frauenliebe und Leben': Chamisso's Poems and Schumann's Songs*
Anna Zayaruznaya, *The Monstrous New Art: Divided Forms in the Late Medieval Motet*
Helen Deeming and Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context*
Emily Kilpatrick, *The Operas of Maurice Ravel*
Roderick Chadwick and Peter Hill, *Olivier Messiaen's Catalogue d'oiseaux: From Conception to Performance*
Catherine A. Bradley, *Polyphony in Medieval Paris: The Art of Composing with Plainchant*
Owen Rees, *The Requiem of Tomás Luis de Victoria (1603)*
Nicole Grimes, *Brahms's Elegies: The Poetics of Loss in Nineteenth-Century German Culture*
Jane D. Hatter, *Composing Community in Late Medieval Music: Self-Reference, Pedagogy, and Practice*

Composing Community in Late Medieval Music

Self-Reference, Pedagogy, and Practice

JANE D. HATTER
University of Utah

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108474917
DOI: 10.1017/9781108643597

© Jane D. Hatter 2019

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2019

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Hatter, Jane D. author.
Title: Composing community in late medieval music : self-reference, pedagogy, and practice / Jane D. Hatter.
Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, [2019] | Series: Music in context | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2018052017 | ISBN 9781108474917
Subjects: LCSH: Music – 15th century – History and criticism. | Music – 16th century – History and criticism. | Musicians – Songs and music – History and criticism.
Classification: LCC ML172 .H4 2019 | DDC 780.9/031–dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2018052017

ISBN 978-1-108-47491-7 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

For Wesley

Contents

List of Examples [*page* ix]
List of Figures [x]
List of Tables [xii]
Acknowledgments [xiv]
Note to the Reader [xvi]

Introduction [1]

PART I MUSIC ABOUT MUSICIANS [9]

1 From Paintings about Painters to Music about Musicians [11]

2 *Miserere supplicanti Du Fay*: Building Community through Musical Devotions at Cambrai Cathedral [19]

3 *Ora pro nobis*: Forms of Self-Reference in Musical Prayers for Musicians [53]

4 *Plorer, gemir, crier*: Musical Mourning and the Composer [94]

PART II MUSIC ABOUT MUSIC [123]

5 Paintings about Painting and Music about Music-Making [125]

6 Simple Lessons? Music Theory as Emblem of Composition [135]

7 Constructing the Composer: Symbolic Use of the Hexachord in Compositions *c.* 1500 [166]

8 Conclusion [208]

Sources and Sigla [220]
Appendix A Music about Music and Musicians [226]
Appendix B Sixteenth-Century Masses Based on the Hexachord [234]
Bibliography [236]
Index [276]

Examples

2.1 *Ave regina celorum* antiphon [*page* 37]
2.2 Setting of *Miserere tui labentis Dufay*, m. 21–23 [45]
2.3 Setting of *Miserere supplicanti Dufay*, m. 86–96 [47]
3.1 *Stretto fuga* duo from Compere, *Omnium bonorum plena*, prima pars, superius and altus, m. 43–49 [68]
3.2 Simultaneous quotation of all three voices of Ghizeghem's chanson in Compere's motet [70]
a Ghizeghem's chanson, mm. 47–30 [70]
b Compere's motet, mm. 183–191 [71]
3.3 Tenor with possible text underlay for secunda pars, third stanza [73]
4.1 Three-voice texture in opening sections of Ockeghem, *Mort tu as navré* [107]
4.2 Quotation of *Dies irae* in Ockeghem's lament for Binchois [109]
7.1 Opening of Brumel, *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la* [177]
7.2 Opening of Ghiselin's *Missa De les armes* [186]
7.3 Comparison of the superius lines from the openings of the Masses by Brumel and Ghiselin [187]
7.4 All three hexachords in Josquin, *Ut Phebi*, mm. 55–62 [198]
7.5 Hexachord statement in the altus of Compere's *Virgo celesti*, m. 1–4 [202]
7.6 Opening phrases of Lassus, *Ut queant laxis*, m. 1–5 [204]
7.7 Final phrase of the hymn tune compared to the tenor of Lassus, *Ut queant*, m. 17–22 [204]
8.1 Solmization syllables in all the voices of Josquin's *Illibata dei virgo* [214]

Figures

1.1 Rogier van der Weyden, *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin, c.* 1425–30. Oil and tempera on panel, 137.5 x 110.8 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. [*page* 12]

2.1 Detail from Du Fay's funeral monument [43]

2.2 Funeral monument of Guillaume *Du Fay*, *c.* 1470–74. Stone bas-relief, Palais des Beaux Arts de Lille [50]

5.1 Isaac's *cantus firmus* compared to an example from Gaffurius, *Practica musice* [126]

a Tenor from Isaac, "O decus ecclesiae," MS Berlin 40021, fol. 180 [126]

b Example from Gaffurius, *Practica musice* (Milan, 1496), fol. a v. [126]

5.2 Detail from Dieric Bouts, *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin and Child, c.* 1440–75. The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, County Durham, England [130]

5.3 Detail from Colijn de Coter, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin Mary, c.* 1500. Oil on canvas, 135 x 108 cm, Church of St. Louis, Vieure, France [131]

6.1 D'Amerval Agnus dei III of *Missa Dixerunt discipuli*, VatS 14, 64 v [145]

6.2 Credo from the tenor of Brumel, *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la* (Petrucci, 1503). Musiksammlung, ÖNB Vienna: SA.78.C.10/3, Bl. 5 r [146]

6.3 Roelkin, "De tous biens playne," from SegC s.s, fol. 202 v–203 r [156]

6.4 Tenor from Busnoys' *Anthoni usque limina,* BrusBR 5557, fol. 48 v [161]

6.5 Example of the gamut from Gaffurius, *Practica musice* (Milan, 1496), folio a ii [162]

6.6 Tenor from Busnoys, *In hydraulis,* Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Mus. ms. 3154 resp., fol. 48^{r} [164]

7.1 Guidonian hand from the commentary for Giovanni Battista Caporali's edition and translation of Vitruvius, *De Architectura* (Perugia: Bigazzini, 1536), fol. 111 v [170]

7.2 Reisch, *Margarita philosophica* (1503), fol. 105 v [189]
7.3 Detail of Reisch, *Margarita philosophica* (1503), fol. 104 [190]
7.4 Reisch, *Margarita philosophica* (1503), fol. 97 [191]
7.5 Title page from Lanfranco, *Scintille di musica* (Brescia, 1533) [206]
8.1 Solmization syllables in Petrucci's *Motetti a cinque,* contratenor primus [216]
a. "*ut sol*" on fol. 43 v [216]
b. "*la mi la*" on fol. 44 r [216]

Tables

1.1 Parallel features of St. Luke paintings and self-referential music [*page* 16]
2.1 Musical prayers for musicians composed by *Du Fay* at Cambrai [26]
2.2 Du Fay, *Fulgens iubar / Puerpera, pura parens / Virgo post partum* [29]
2.3 Text for Du Fay's *Ave regina celorum III* [38]
3.1 Musical prayers for and about musicians, *c.* 1450–1505 [54]
3.2 Musicians' motets in the Chantilly Codex [60]
3.3 Text for Compere, *Omnium bonorum plena* [65]
3.4 Text for "De tous biens plaine" from Dijon and Laborde [67]
3.5 Composers named in Compere, *Omnium bonorum plena*, secunda pars, lines 9–24 [72]
3.6 Text of Busnoys, *In hydraulis*, prima pars [75]
3.7 Text of Busnoys, *In hydraulis*, secunda pars [76]
3.8 Text of *Anthoni usque limina* from BrusBR 5557 [77]
3.9 Professional concerns in the texts of musicians' motets [80]
3.10 From the triplum of *Fulgens iubar*, second half of stanza 3 [81]
3.11 Text for the anonymous motet *Decantemus in hac die* [84]
3.12 Text for Compere, *Sile fragor* [86]
3.13 Texts from all sources for Josquin, *Ce povre mendiant / Pauper sum ego* [88]
4.1 Polyphonic laments for musicians in French and Latin from 1450 to 1570 [97]
4.2 Languages and language-combination in laments for musicians from Table 4.1 [99]
4.3 Text of Du Fay's lament for Binchois [102]
4.4 Text for Ockeghem's lament for Binchois [105]
4.5 Text for Obrecht's lament for his father [110]
4.6 Sources for Obrecht's *Mille quingentis* [111]
4.7 From Chapter I of Tinctoris, *De natura et proprietate tonorum* (1476) [113]

4.8 Sources for musical laments for Josquin (died in 1521) [116]
4.9 Text for Vinders, *O mors inevitabilis / Requiem* [119]
4.10 Labels for laments in Susato's *Septiesme livre* (Antwerp, 1545) [120]
5.1 Tools of the trade in St. Luke paintings and self-referential music [128]
6.1 Pieces with comprehensive compositional structures or based on terms from Greek theory, 1460 to 1490s [136]
6.2 Pieces based on comprehensive structures [141]
6.3 Sources for Brumel, *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la* [148]
6.4 Text of Obrecht, *Inter preclarissimas virtutes*, from SegC s.s. [152]
6.5 Concordances for duos from SegC s.s. and PerBCA 1013 [155]
6.6 Pieces based on terms from Greek theory [159]
6.7 Rubric from Josquin, "Vive le roy," from Canti C (Venice: Petrucci, 1504) [160]
6.8 Text from Busnoys' *Anthoni usque limina,* BrusBR 5557 [161]
7.1 Compositions featuring the hexachord, *c.* 1480–1530 [168]
7.2 Layout of Tinctoris, *Expositio manus* [172]
7.3 Italian theoretical sources discussing solmization and mutation [182]
7.4 Figures developed in the cantus firmus of Ghiselin, *Missa De les armes* [184]
7.5 Hexachord-based pieces published by Petrucci in Venice, 1501–1508 [192]
7.6 Features of hexachordal motets and Masses published by Petrucci [195]
7.7 Text for Josquin, *Ut Phebi radiis* [199]
7.8 Classical and Christian elements in Josquin, *Ut Phebi* [200]
7.9 Hexachord pieces with versions of *Ut queant laxis* [203]
7.10 Translation of the title page from Lanfranco, *Scintille di musica* (Brescia, 1533) [206]
8.1 Text for Josquin, *Illibata dei virgo nutrix*, prima pars [210]
8.2 Text for Josquin, *Illibata dei virgo nutrix*, secunda pars [211]
8.3 Interpretive levels of the cantus firmus of Josquin's *Illibata dei virgo* [212]
8.4 Excerpt from ch. 19 of Tinctoris, *Complexus effectuum musices* [217]

Acknowledgments

Like the complex and interconnected music that forms its core, this book has been shaped by a rich interdisciplinary and international community. I am profoundly grateful to the many individuals, societies, and institutions that have supported my work on the project in various ways. I offer a special thanks to my mentors and advisors – Julie Cumming and Peter Schubert. Your individual work and fruitful collaborations embody an ideal model of dynamic scholarly community.

I have had the opportunity to benefit from feedback on my work on self-referential music at a number of conferences, including the MedRen Music conference in 2009, the annual meetings of the Renaissance Society of America in 2011, 2013, and 2018, the Medieval Association of the Pacific in 2016, and the American Musicological Society annual meetings in 2011, 2014, and 2018. I am particularly indebted to Wolfgang Fuhrmann, Katelijne Schiltz, and Philippe Vendrix for the opportunity to participate in the *journée d'étude* "Notation as Mode of Thinking," at the 2015 Séminaire de Musicologie Ricercar in Tours, France. I am also incredibly grateful for the friendship and unflagging enthusiasm of David Rothenberg, who read several parts of this study and provided excellent advice. Thanks also to various colleagues who have provided feedback at key moments, read chapters, or shared materials or translations, including Tom Beghin, Jenny Bloxam, Douglas Brine, Zoey Cochran, Elizabeth Craft, Jeffrey Dean, Ruth DeFord, David Fallows, Jessen Kelly, Leofranc Holford-Strevens, Aaron James, Lars Lih, Patrick Macey, Catherine Mayes, Honey Meconi, Philippe Morel, George Nemeth, Sarah Projansky, Sarah Sinwell, Kate van Orden, and Angela Vanhaelen.

Research for this book has been made possible by a variety of entities through grants and fellowships: at McGill through a J. W. McConnell Memorial Fellowship, a Schulich Scholarship, and various travel and research grants funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, especially those awarded by two interdisciplinary research grants headed by Paul Yachnin – "Making Publics" and "Forms of Conversion"; and at the University of Utah through research grants from both the University Research Council and the College of Fine Arts.

This book has been supported through a publication subvention by the Martin Picker Endowment of the American Musicological Society, funded in part by the National Endowment of the Humanities and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

I am grateful to Kate Brett, Eilidh Burrett, Frances Tye, and various other associates of Cambridge University Press, whose professionalism and efficiency have made the publication process smooth and enjoyable, and to the two anonymous readers, who applied their extensive knowledge of the era to improving the manuscript. My warm thanks to Samantha Bassler for her help creating the index. I also wish to thank to Paul Harper-Scott and Julian Rushton for welcoming my book into their Music in Context series.

The visual aspects of this study would not have been possible without the generosity of the many institutions and individuals who are making their resources publicly accessible to scholars around the world for reproduction and study, both in person and over the web. I also benefited significantly from the resources of the Marvin Duchow Music Library at McGill, under the direction of the excellent Cynthia Leive, as well as from the resources of the McKay Music Library and the interlibrary loan department of the Marriott Library at the University of Utah.

Finally, without the love and support of my wonderful family, I am certain that I would never have had the courage to see this journey through. To Sky, aka the Font Fairy, thank you for teaching me about image resolution, formatting, and style hierarchies. To Clare, Gamma Ut, Grampa Mark, GGK, and GPP, your assistance in various ways, not least in providing childcare, has made this a richer and much less stressful experience. Mom, you are simply the best and my primary model of a persistent mind and unfaltering friend! Thanks to Loren for stimulating discussions about the intricacies of hexachordal solmization during long bike rides on the St. Lawrence seaway and hikes through the Wasatch range. Finally, to Wesley, whose life so far has been framed by his mother's obsession with "the book," thank you for sharing your enthusiasm for exploring your world with me and for your sweet snuggles, which made even the most challenging days joyful. I dedicate this book to you, my sweet baby and dear boy!

Note to the Reader

Pitch notation

When specific pitches are indicated in the text they will be referred to according to the terminology of the Guidonian gamut or *scala generalis*. These are listed here from low to high, and c = middle c:

GG A B C D E F G a b **c** d e f g aa bb cc dd ee

Clefs

In mensural notation of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the most common clefs are C clefs (𝄡) and F clefs (𝄢). G clef (𝄞) is sometimes used, but this is less common. C clefs and F clefs can occur on any line of the staff, so where necessary these will be indicated with the letter C or F and a number indicating the line on which it occurs starting from the bottom line of the staff. For example, C1 indicates that there is a C clef on the bottom line of the staff and F3 indicates that there is an F clef on the middle line.

Mensuration signs

Mensuration signs are the late medieval equivalent of our modern time signatures, but they have some important differences.[1] They indicate recurring patterns of binary (imperfect or minor) and ternary (perfect or major) at different hierarchical levels (tempus for the breve and prolation for the semibreve). There are also larger mensural levels (modus for the

[1] The basic texts for learning mensural notations are Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900–1600;* and Carl Parrish, *The Notation of Medieval Music*. For a more recent discussion of this topic that is highly accessible and accompanied by a recording of some of the music discussed in the text, see Thomas Forrest Kelly, *Capturing Music: The Story of Notation*.

long and maximodus for the maxima). The five most common mensuration signs in use for the time period covered by this book are:
⊙ = perfect tempus, major prolation
○ = perfect tempus, minor prolation
⊙̇ = imperfect tempus, major prolation
C = imperfect tempus, minor prolation
¢ = which has the same metric structure as C but probably would be performed at a faster tempo.

Introduction

"Be still, noise and tumult of the world! Flee, anxiety, which gasps hoarse in the chest! Allow us to sing in the ritual and to make our measures equal!"[1] These are the initial demands of Loyset Compere in his mythologically inflected prayer motet for musicians, *Sile fragor*. While Compere dramatically silences the world and banishes anxieties, he also draws attention to the physicality of singing and to the mental acuity, musical training, and emotional commitment that it requires. In a similar vein Josquin Desprez ends the prima pars of his highly personal, acrostic-bearing Marian prayer motet, *Illibata dei virgo nutrix*, by asking "that our throats may call out to you with pure praises and may with zealous art shout: 'ave!'"[2] The immediacy and physicality of these requests humanize the shadowy, indistinct figures of late-fifteenth-century musicians, revealing the similarity of their concerns, experiences, and training to our own. The secunda pars of Josquin's text continues the self-reflexive trope by referring to the actual singers of the motet and to its unique cantus firmus, expressed in solmization syllables drawn from the name Maria – "You alone, consoler friend, can save those singing '*la mi la*' in your praise!"[3] Self-referential pieces such as these provide tantalizing windows into the hopes, desires, and professional activities of the community of musicians employed in the performance of liturgical music *c.* 1500.

Self-reference occurs in artistic creations across a broad range of times and media, examples ranging from informal sketches like those of the face and hands of the youthful Albrecht Dürer from the late fifteenth century, to twenty-first-century film meta-musicals, for example the nostalgic

[1] "*Sile fragor ac rerum tumultus: / fuge pavor qui pectore raucus anelas. / Psallere nos sine et nostros equare modos.*"

[2] "*. . . ut guttura / Efflagitent, laude teque pura / Zelotica arte clamet 'ave.'*" The acrostic, found in the first letter of each line of text in the prima pars, spells out "JOSQUIN Des PREZ." This was first identified in 1925 by Smijers, "Een kleine bijdrage over Josquin," 313–19.

[3] The syllables are derived from the name Maria through the technique of *soggetto cavato*, a practice first described by Zarlino in the first and second editions of his *Istitutioni harmoniche*. See chapter 66, Part III of the facsimile of Zarlino, *Istitutioni harmoniche (Venezia, 1561)*. Also see Marco and Palisca's translation of the 1558 edition; *The Art of Counterpoint*, 241.

blockbuster *La La Land*, released in December 2016.[4] The meanings and motivations behind self-referential creations vary according to their original contexts, but self-referential pieces are unified by the common thread of providing evidence for the creator's awareness of the act of creation on some basic level. Looking at them can provide us with essential information about how the creators thought about themselves as artists, or at least about how they wanted to project themselves to an audience. I prefer to use the term "self-reference" for these types of pieces because it is descriptive of the work such pieces accomplish, and general enough to encompass all the different types of reflexivity that occur in music of the late medieval and early Renaissance periods, but other terms could be applied, including self-reflexive and meta.[5]

In the case of written music of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, self-reference can be expressed in two ways. First, through textual references to music or musicians, such as by incorporating the names of musicians in the text or as an acrostic, or through the inclusion of terms and concepts used in music education. The second way that self-reference can be expressed is through musical structures and organizational schemes that foreground the compositional process and musical medium, such as cantus firmi or comprehensive mensural or melodic structures borrowed from music theory.[6] Some fifteenth-century pieces include both of these techniques, amplifying the textual references to music or musicians through cantus firmi clearly borrowed from music theory or pedagogy. Others set generic texts, often those of the five ordinary Mass texts, but are self-referential because they explore a theoretical principle in their cantus firmus, for

[4] On Dürer see the discussion by Joseph Koerner in *The Moment of Self-Portraiture*. On film musical see Feuer, "Self-Reflexive Musical"; and Fear, "'La Land': How a Young Filmmaker Resurrected the Hollywood Musical."

[5] There has been a fair amount of work done on self-referentiality in theatre, film, and opera, but very little on self-reflexivity in non-narrative forms. An exception is Stone, "Self-Reflexive Songs." Stone's work is related to research into authorship and the construction of the self in fourteenth-century poetry, including the works of Machaut. For related ideas about authorship see the books of Laurence de Looze, Kevin Brownlee, and most recently, Elizabeth Eva Leach.

[6] Cantus firmus technique, or the practice of composing a piece of polyphonic music around a preexistent melody, is key to this discussion because it allowed Renaissance composers to infuse a composition with a range of symbolic associations. This melody is generally referred to as a cantus firmus or tenor. Usually cantus firmus melodies were borrowed from plainchant or popular songs, making polyphonic settings of the ordinary texts of the Mass appropriate for a specific occasion, like a commemorative service at a side altar dedicated to an individual or a celebration of an important saint like the Virgin Mary. The classic text on cantus firmus is Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet, 1420–1520*. Other contributions to the discussion of how cantus firmi generate meeting include Bloxam, "Text and Context"; Brown, "The Mirror of Man's Salvation."

example the gamut of Guidonian hexachords. In each case, the self-referential features make these works into compositions about music itself.

The musicians' motets by Compere and Josquin discussed above are just two of almost 100 pieces composed between 1450 and 1530 that refer directly to musicians or music. Many musicologists have used the texts of a few of these works to establish elements of composers' biographies, or to reflect on potential connections between composers and the social gatherings that might have prompted self-referential composition.[7] Other pieces have been investigated for their complex and beautiful musical structures, based on abstract elements of music theory.[8] Despite their popularity in modern scholarship, these pieces have never been investigated as a group for what their self-referential aspects reveal about the international community of literate, professional musicians active in the decades around 1500. Also, a large number of them are anonymous or obscure compositions that have received little attention from modern scholars, but certainly served in a cultural niche similar to the pieces by famous composers.[9] What was the purpose of writing a piece of music *about* music, and why did such a broad range of composers participate in this practice in the decades around 1500?

The answer to this question is linked to two of the most important musical advances of these decades – the printing of polyphonic music, which began in Venice in 1501, and the engagement of the first professional composers, as distinct from performing musicians.[10] During the late fifteenth century, even before the advent of music printing, the idea of the composed work increased in importance and was significantly altered, contributing to the iconic status of certain composers. Paula Higgins asserts that before 1460 music theorists rarely mentioned composers by

[7] To name just a few of the sources on *Illibata de virgo nutrix* alone see Antonowycz, "*Illibata dei virgo*"; Sherr, "Josquin's Roman Style"; Macey, "*Illibata dei virgo nutrix* and Galeazzo Maria Sforza"; Clutterham, "Dating Josquin's Enigmatic Motet"; Rodin, *Josquin's Rome*. Some other relevant articles include: Smijers, "Een kleine bijdrage over Josquin"; Rifkin, "*Omnium bonorum plena* Reconsidered"; Fallows "Josquin and Trent 91"; Montagna, "Caron, Hayne, Compère"; Wegman, "From Maker to Composer" and "Ockeghem, Josquin and Brumel."

[8] For example, *In hydraulis*: Brothers, "Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition"; van Benthem, "Text, Tone, and Symbol."

[9] For example, the anonymous motet *Decantemus in hac die* and Van Stappen's *Exaudi nos*, both published by Petrucci in Venice.

[10] For Petrucci see Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*; Cumming, "Petrucci's Publics"; and van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book*. For arguments on the development of the first professional composers see Wegman, "From Maker to Composer"; Wegman, "Isaac's Signature"; Wilson, "Isaac among the Florentines"; and Zanovello, "Isaac in Florence, 1502–17." Other intertwined elements of change that had an impact on musicians include the beginning of the Reformation period.

name and that ascription of musical works in manuscripts was less common from the thirteenth through the early fifteenth centuries than in later manuscripts.[11] Jessie Ann Owens has written about the importance of composer genealogies and the elevation of composers to heroic status in the sixteenth century, revealing some of the roots of modern celebrity culture.[12] Looking for earlier documentation of this process, Rob Wegman has proposed that during the second half of the fifteenth century there was a shift from a medieval "maker" of music in general to an early modern "composer" of distinct musical works.[13] He and Giovanni Zanovello have shown that because Heinrich Isaac was paid to be the court composer of Maximilian I despite the fact that the composer lived in Florence, far from the actual court, he should be considered the first professional composer.[14] Similarly, while residing in northern Europe Jacob Obrecht sent motets and Masses to rulers in Italian courts as written representations of his own musical voice and at least one of these pieces alludes to its own written status as an object.[15] The emergence and popularity of new types of self-referential compositions parallel these developments, many of them issuing from the pens of these same composers. Self-referential compositions themselves provide evidence for how musicians were involved in the development and transmission of the early modern concept of the composer.

Self-referential compositions are also important sources of information on how the composer understood and communicated the unique status of written music and projected this within the musical community of fellow professionals, amateurs, and patrons. These pieces, though unified by the idea of self-reference, encompass a wide range of genres, lengths, and styles. There are three prime types of self-referential pieces composed between 1450 and 1530, organized by period of composition in Appendix A. The first two categories – musicians' motets and laments for musicians – are defined by the subject matter of their texts (music or musicians), and the social context of the composition (as a memorial or praise of a musician). Works of the third type are compositions, primarily motets and Masses, notable for displaying or being constructed around musical features borrowed from basic elements of music theory or

[11] Higgins, "Musical 'Parents' and Their 'Progeny,'" 172.
[12] Owens, "Music Historiography"; Owens, *Composers at Work*.
[13] Wegman, "From Maker to Composer."
[14] On Isaac as a "court composer" see Zanovello, "Isaac in Florence, 1502–17"; and Wegman, "Isaac's Signature."
[15] The motet is *Inter preclarissimas virtutes*. Wegman, *Born for the Muses*; Murray, "Jacob Obrecht's Connection," 129.

pedagogy, including hexachords, solmization syllables, and/or mensural structures. For lack of a better word I have called these pieces *Musica* compositions, because there is such a wide variety of ways in which these pieces can be constructed.[16] Some of the musicians' motets and laments are also themselves *Musica* pieces. All of this information can be found in Appendix A, which also indicates the relevant chapter or chapters for each piece. All these categories are tied together by the shared thread of self-referentiality which leads us to three important points. First, many of these pieces mark bonds of musical parentage, presenting claims of influence between different generations of professionals. Second, they reveal in their construction and texts the impact of contemporary intellectual trends in abstract music theory on composed music. And finally, they reveal one of the means through which musicians created and presented their public selves, which contributed significantly to the creation of the composer as a distinct professional category.

Chapter Outline

In light of the two basic types of self-reference in music of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, textual and musical, this book is organized into two sections. "Part I: Music about Musicians," encompassing Chapters 1–4, examines pieces that memorialized individual musicians in their texts, like musicians' motets and laments for musicians. "Part II: Music about Music" is comprised of Chapter 5–7 and turns away from texts, showing instead how compositions displaying abstract concepts of music theory, like the hexachord and solmization syllables in their musical structures, worked in tandem with the theoretical treatises of Johannes Tinctoris, Franchinus Gaffurius, and others to promote the status of music as a humanistic discipline. Each section is introduced by a brief introductory chapter (Chapters 1 and 5) that shows how expressions of the professional concerns of musicians in compositions are mirrored in self-referential paintings, especially paintings associated with regional guilds dedicated to St. Luke, the patron saint of painters and illuminators. Each of the body chapters presents a list of compositions (drawn from Appendix A) unified by self-referential features or approach.

[16] Referring to the cantus firmus treatment, Edgar Sparks called many of these types of compositions hexachordal or constructed tenor compositions, but this categorization does not indicate the similarity between these types and other compositional strategies. *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet, 1420–1520.*

The subgenre of the musicians' motet is the subject of both Chapter 2 and 3. Chapter 2, "*Miserere supplicanti Du Fay*: Building Community through Musical Devotions at Cambrai Cathedral" explores self-referential features in two musicians' motets by Du Fay – *Fulgens iubar / Puerpera, pura parens / Virgo post partum* and *Ave regina celorum III*. Situating these compositions within the professional, liturgical, and devotional practices of Cambrai Cathedral reveals how these pieces functioned as musical prayers and also reinforced the corporate identity of the community of musicians connected to Du Fay at Cambrai. Chapter 3, "*Ora pro nobis*: Forms of Self-Reference in Musical Prayers for Musicians," expands on this close reading of Du Fay and Cambrai by comparing the texts and musical features of seven more musicians' motets composed between 1450 and 1505. These pieces are all musical prayers for musicians, although not all of them include the names of specific musicians. It is difficult to associate the pieces considered in this chapter with a patron, which distinguishes them from earlier musicians' motets like Binchois' *Novum cantum melodie* (1431) and Johannes Alanus' *Sub Arturo plebs* (late fourteenth century).[17] These musical prayers reveal a preoccupation with the role of humans as creators of distinct musical objects that will endure, while at the same time drawing attention to the physical and yet ephemeral act of music-making.

The musical and textual features of twenty different laments for musicians written between 1460 and 1585 and their transmission histories are the subject of Chapter 4, "*Plorer, gemir, crier*: Musical Mourning and the Composer." The combination of languages, musical textures, and diverse presentations of preexistent music all act as markers of meaning. Focusing first on three laments from before 1500, this chapter demonstrates that early examples of this type resulted from direct personal connections, while later laments became monumental homages to the works of a "great man." Laments thus reveal a changing sense of history within the musical community and the growing importance of composition and publication as ways of preserving musical voice. Early laments also codified some of the basic markers of mourning – such as the first elegiac use of the Phrygian mode in Obrecht's musical lament for his father – and reveal the importance of humanistic learning and music theory to the self-realization of the professional community of musicians.

[17] Bent, *Two 14th-Century Motets in Praise of Music*; Bent and Howlett, "*Subtiliter alternare*"; Wathey, "Anglo-French Musical Relations."

The basic argument of the second half of the book, laid out in Chapter 5, "Paintings about Painting and Music about Music-Making," is that abstract musical features, like comprehensive explorations of mensural or modal structures and constructed or hexachordal tenors, represent musical tools of the trade and evoke professional identity, similar to the brushes or painterly techniques presented in guild paintings of St. Luke. Chapter 6, "Simple Lessons? Music Theory as Emblem of Composition" explores relationships between twelve works composed between 1460 and the 1490s that display aspects of music theory or terms in their compositional framework. By interacting with late-medieval music-theoretical discourse, these pieces highlight the role of the composer through the foregrounding of the musical work as a material object, created by an individual.

The final chapter is concerned entirely with compositions based on a singular and complex musical symbol – the hexachord. Entitled "Constructing the Composer: Symbolic Use of the Hexachord in Compositions *c*. 1500," Chapter 7 lays out how the hexachord was central to an important conflict in music-theoretical discourse in Italy in the late fifteenth century and to the various ways that the hexachord was used in multiple sources and contexts, including humanistic compendia of knowledge. As a cantus firmus, the hexachord instilled compositions with a particular range of associations that were related to the professional identity of musicians and their efforts to establish musical practice within the tradition of the liberal arts. This chapter focuses in particular on motets and polyphonic Masses included in Petrucci's Venetian publications, as pieces that were both widely disseminated and intended to be consumed by a broad market including both professionals and amateurs. These pieces reinforced the different ways that musicians navigated the professional landscape *c*. 1500 and successfully redefined the role of the medieval maker into the individual composer of the early modern period.

The Conclusion draws together the two sections of the book by reflecting on a famous piece that fits easily into the arguments of both and that has posed significant interpretive problems for modern musical scholars – *Illibata dei virgo nutrix*. As mentioned before, this famous motet is constructed musically around a tenor built from solmization syllables derived from the name "Maria," and textually around an acrostic naming its composer, Josquin Desprez. The text also includes references to the act of singing musical prayers, and to the throat itself as the source of these prayers. The extreme contrasts in musical style between the two halves of the motet and the inclusion of "in-jokes" in an otherwise serious prayer motet has caused modern scholars to question its authenticity or propose

a complicated genesis involving a long gap of time between the composition of its two parts. These issues are resolved when we understand this motet and others like it as an expression of professional identity – the self-referential, musical evocation of humanistic learning in the first half followed by a second half that represents the sensorially rich act of musical prayer.

PART I

Music about Musicians

1 From Paintings about Painters to Music about Musicians

Communities of professional artisans and artists – whose members ranged from manuscript illuminators to bakers, from painters to musicians – existed all over Europe in the late medieval period and they were central to the dramatic social changes at the dawn of the early modern period. The works they produced and supported stand as testaments to the corporate identity and values of a thriving middle class. The growing body of research on these guilds and confraternities shows that although they used a wide variety of formal structures depending on profession, location, and other affiliations, most of them bound together people practicing a particular trade for both professional and spiritual benefit.[1] Though it may be easier to comprehend and quantify the many earthly functions of these groups, like professional protections and providing care for widows and the elderly, it is important not to overlook their promised spiritual benefits and the way that these two realms interacted in fifteenth-century urban environments. Indeed, professional and spiritual matters often merged. Tools of the trade, whether they were paintbrushes or pastries, became invested with symbolic meaning and were used to represent the particular interests of the relevant community in altar paintings and other objects associated with that group. Thus, research about guilds and confraternities focuses on written statutes or foundation documents and membership rosters, but also examines works of art commissioned for side altars and meeting halls.[2] Paintings commissioned by guilds generally depict miracles or saints' stories, allowing the fifteenth-century practices of the craft to be depicted alongside a saintly or historic subject.[3]

One of the earliest surviving examples of a genre of painting strongly associated with local guilds of painters and illuminators in the fifteenth and

[1] Black and Gravestock, eds, *Early Modern Confraternities*.

[2] Eisenbichler, ed., *Crossing the Boundaries*; Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion*; Glixon, *Honoring God and the City*; B. Wilson, *Music and Merchants*; Humfrey, "Competitive Devotions"; Humfrey and MacKenney, "The Venetian Trade Guilds as Patrons."

[3] Well-known examples include Gentile Bellini's *Processione in San Marco*, painted for the Scuola di San Giovanni and discussed in Brown, "On Gentile Bellini's *Processione*," 649–58; and the various paintings of St. Luke in the act of depicting the Virgin Mary that were commissioned by guilds of painters and that will be discussed later in this chapter.

sixteenth centuries is Rogier van der Weyden's depiction of *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin* (see Figure 1.1). Painted in *c.* 1425–30, it exemplifies the multiple ways in which a guild painting could function – as a focus of prayer, but also as a nexus for professional identity and an opportunity to articulate an artistic tradition. In this painting, the Virgin Mary is depicted in the traditional, devotional pose of *Maria lactans*, feeding Christ from

Figure 1.1 Rogier van der Weyden, *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin*, *c.* 1425–30. Oil and tempera on panel, 137.5 x 110.8 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Gift of Mr and Mrs Henry Lee Higginson, 93.153.
Photograph © 2019 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

one exposed breast, a type of painting that would have been central to the repertoire of every professional artist in the fifteenth century.

This intimate moment is being captured by St. Luke who, while genuflecting on one knee, quickly sketches his observations of the scene onto a small piece of paper. The reticence and darkness of the room is contrasted with the openness and light of the background landscape, where two figures gaze into the distance over a parapet, an overt reference to Jan van Eyck's *Madonna with Chancellor Rolin*.[4] It has been convincingly argued that the depiction of St. Luke is also a self-portrait of Rogier, blurring the line between artist and an artistically inclined saint, kneeling in the traditional prayer stance used in donor paintings like van Eyck's portrait of Chancellor Rolin venerating the Virgin.[5] St. Luke was the patron saint of painters and many Byzantine and pseudo-Byzantine images of the Virgin attributed to St. Luke were in circulation in Europe during the fifteenth century, reinforcing the historical nature of this image and validating the painter's profession.[6] Rogier's painting of this scene was extremely influential; it existed in at least four full-size versions from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and stands at the head of a tradition of closely related painters'-guild paintings of St. Luke that continued for over 150 years across Europe, especially in the wealthy northern cities of the Low Countries.[7]

[4] Paris, Musée du Louvre. For a discussion of the relationship between these works see Acres, "Luke, Rolin, and Seeing Relationships."

[5] James Marrow cites the similarity between Rogier's depiction of St. Luke and a portrait of Rogier in a manuscript illumination, "Artistic Identity in Early Netherlandish Painting," 53–54. Donor portraits or paintings include portraits of the person or people who funded the creation of the artwork, usually kneeling in the foreground in the act of prayer.

[6] The cathedral at Cambrai housed one of these paintings and in October of 1468 Charles the Bold and Louis XI converged in Cambrai, where they both venerated this relic. See Houdoy, *Histoire artistique*, 246. Another important work attributed to St. Luke was a painting at St. Maria Maggiore in Rome, mentioned in Voragine's *Golden Legend* as bringing healing during a plague. "The plague was still ravaging Rome, and Gregory ordered the procession to continue to make the circuit of the city, the marchers chanting litanies. An image of the Blessed Virgin was carried in the procession. It is said that this image is still in the church of Saint Mary Major in Rome, that it was painted by Saint Luke, who was not only a physician but a distinguished painter, and that it was a perfect likeness of the Virgin," 174. Apostolos-Cappadona discusses the function of these Byzantine and pseudo-Byzantine works in her article "Picturing Devotion." During Du Fay's lifetime Cambrai instituted a celebration of the feast of St. Mary of the Snows and it was on this feast that Du Fay requested his memorial service be celebrated. See Bibliothèque Municipale, MS *B. 39*, fol. 56r, translated and discussed in Strohm, *Rise of European Music*, 285.

[7] Although there is physical evidence to suggest that the panel at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts is the original, the panels in Munich, Bruges, and St. Petersburg are not significantly different and are probably almost contemporary to the original work. Other partial copies are also extant, as well as a tapestry version. For a comprehensive listing see Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, vol. 2. Although the exact location where Rogier's painting was originally hung remains unknown, all the extant paintings of this scene, as well as a number of lost works depicting the

Art historian James Marrow provides an excellent summary of the scholarship on the significance of Rogier's painting of St. Luke. He articulates three important innovations within it:

1. it evokes contemporary practices of portraiture through the use of silverpoint to draw a detailed sketch of an illustrious patron, who in fifteenth-century practice would not have been asked to pose throughout the lengthy process of completing an actual oil painting;
2. it replaces the traditional, bearded version of St. Luke with a clean-shaven portrait of a fifteenth-century artist, probably a self-portrait, merging Rogier the professional painter with his spiritual patron, St. Luke; and
3. it pays obvious homage to famous paintings of the previous generation, articulating the value of that venerable tradition and establishing Rogier's place in it.[8]

Following Rogier's example closely, multiple artists created similar works, all of which depict contemporary painters' tools or techniques, seem to include self-portraits of the artists as St. Luke, and were associated with painters' guilds. This validates Marrow's assertion that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries "the very subject of St. Luke portraying the Virgin was preeminently a vehicle for the expression of distinct notions of artistic identity, self-reference and affiliation."[9] When these kinds of works were displayed in a church on a side-chapel altar maintained by the members of the painters' guild, these self-referential paintings acted with multiple purposes – interceding on behalf of the community of artists while also advertising the skill of the work's creator, and commemorating his life, even beyond the painter's death.

I have found that the three key aspects identified by Marrow in these St. Luke paintings – artistic identity, self-reference, and affiliation – are also evident in the numerous self-referential pieces of music that were composed in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In general musicologists, when looking at evidence for communities of musicians, have

same subject, were hung either on side altars or in the halls of the professional guilds of painters active in the Low Countries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For more in-depth discussions see Schaefer, "Saint Luke as Painter"; and Kok, *De heilige Lucas tekent en schildert de Madonna*.

[8] "Artistic Identity in Early Netherlandish Painting," 53–54.

[9] Marrow, "Artistic Identity in Early Netherlandish Painting," 56. If there is no identifiable portrait of the artist extant, it is impossible to determine if the work in question is actually a self-portrait. Since each St. Luke has a unique face, this indicates that most of them are at least portraits of contemporaries and probably self-portraits, following Rogier's example.

focused on secular guilds of minstrels and town musicians because these connections at the local level are relatively straightforward to establish. Many of them were formalized by statues and guild documents, something that would be difficult to establish for the often-itinerant professional singers who circulated through the major European churches. Although there are no formal statutes extant for guilds of ecclesiastical singers, Rob Wegman has uncovered evidence that loosely organized groups existed in the Low Countries in the fifteenth century.[10] His research shows that the musicians in a particular location were commonly referred to as the "companions of music" in registers of expenditure. These groups were often headed by a provost or leader who communicated with local administrators on their behalf, for example by negotiating for food and wine to be provided when these musicians congregated with esteemed colleagues visiting from near and far. Wegman proposes that these groups of musicians reflected guild or confraternal structures in three ways. First, he notes that musicians often performed "neighborly acts of charity" for each other by protecting the benefices of absentee musicians, particularly those working in Italy, and promoting each other to distant patrons. Second, he finds evidence of musicians coming together for subsidized celebratory meals, naturally including special expenditures for better-than-average wine. The church accounts from Bruges, Brussels, and Troyes record payments for such meals; these records often also include a note identifying a famous visitor as having dined with the local singers, for example Josquin or Ockeghem.[11] Celebratory gatherings were common features of other professional groups and generally occurred on the feast day of the relevant trade's patron saint. The fact that groups of singers congregated on Marian feast days supports Wegman's third speculation – that the Virgin Mary was the patron saint of singers. Wegman also suggests that the vast quantity of Marian music produced in the late fifteenth century can be explained, in part at least, by the Virgin Mary's special status among musicians.

[10] Wegman, "From Maker to Composer," 471–73; "Ockeghem, Josquin and Brumel," 212. For information on guilds for minstrels and instrumentalists see Wegman, "The Minstrel School"; Peters, "Urban Minstrels," for a discussion of minstrel guilds in southern France see 222–27; Slocum, "*Confrérie, Bruderschaft* and Guild," for an excellent summation of scholarship on the Parisian Confrérie of St. Julien des Menestriers see footnotes 13–15 on page 262; Gómez and Haggh, "Minstrel Schools." Reinhardt Strohm has found a register for a *confraternitas chori* at the church of St-Sauveur in Bruges from *c.* 1510 but from his discussion this seems to be the name for the organization of the clergy of this church, which included musicians and others. Rijksarchief Brugge, Découvertes no. 101, cited by Strohm in *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, 51–55.

[11] Wegman, "Guild of Our Lady in Bergen ob Zoom"; and "Ockeghem, Josquin and Brumel."

Table 1.1 Parallel features of St. Luke paintings and self-referential music

		Part I: Chapters 2–4		Part II: Chapters 5–7
		VISUAL TOPICS		
	Patron saints	**Self-reference**	**Affiliation**	**Artistic identity**
Guild paintings	St. Luke as an artist	Self-portrait of the artist as St. Luke in the act of drawing or painting	Visual reference to famous works of the previous generation	Depictions of specific techniques or tools of the painterly trade
		MUSICAL GENRES		
		Musicians' motets	**Musicians' laments**	**Motets and Masses**
Music	Virgin Mary	Composer and musicians named in the text References to professional concerns	Musical reference to famous works and musicians Laments for deceased musicians	Presentation of specific tools of the musical trade

Just as the self-referential paintings of St. Luke functioned to create art that was about art, music about music is evidence of a growing professional consciousness and sense of community among musicians in the fifteenth century. Table 1.1 isolates and demonstrates how similarities between the significant features of guild paintings of St. Luke and self-referential music can help us understand the function of music that is about music and musicians – musicians' motets, laments for musicians, and compositions based on concepts derived from music theory. Laid out with the features of the guild paintings on top and the compositional features on the bottom, it displays parallels between the two groups. The elements Marrow discusses in relation to St. Luke paintings – self-reference, affiliation, and artistic identity – have implications for self-referential compositions, identifying guild-like structures and corporate affiliations within the international communities of professional ecclesiastical musicians.

In general, musical aspects of self-reference and affiliation are discussed in Part I of this book, which focuses on musicians' motets and laments, since self-reflection is primarily conveyed through the texts of these compositions. The identification of a patron saint, as the spiritual focus of and advocate for members of a guild, is key to recognizing guild structures and group identity. The Virgin Mary, as an especially sympathetic sacred figure, was the focus of an incredible amount of music and visual art in

all areas in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but this does not preclude the possibility that the large amount of self-referential music with a Marian focus may indicate that she was considered by musicians to be their patron saint, as suggested by Rob Wegman. These concepts are key to all of the chapters, but they are especially relevant to the discussion of the musical prayers for musicians in Chapters 2 and 3, most of which are crafted as prayers to the Virgin Mary. While artists expressed self-reference by depicting their patron St. Luke in the form of a self-portrait, showing him as a fifteenth-century painter engaged in the act of drawing or painting, many composers also name themselves in their texts, and include references in them to professional concerns like singing, the throat, the choir, or the work itself. In this vein, Chapter 2 explores the professional implications of two self-referential motets by Du Fay by placing them in their devotional context at Cambrai Cathedral. This discussion is expanded in Chapter 3 to consider other musicians' motets of the following generations – some of which are justly famous works in the international repertoire, while others are obscure anonymous compositions that thus far have lacked a frame of reference for understanding their musical importance. Just as paintings of St. Luke advertised affiliation and built group identity by commemorating artists of the previous generation through reference to their painted works, self-referential compositions, especially laments, honor specific musicians from the previous generations, building a sense of musical patrilineage.[12] The development of this tradition through the body of laments for musicians will be the topic of Chapter 4, which contextualizes these pieces within communities of professionals and fifteenth-century memorial culture.

Finally, while painters advertised their artistic identity by depicting pens, brushes, and other easily recognizable features of their craft, including their studios, musicians composed a lot of music around musical subjects, including extensive explorations of mensural or modal structures, hexachords, and solmization models. Part II of the book, "Music about Music," encompassing Chapters 5–7, will focus on how the musical text and notations of these compositions highlight such musical "tools of the trade," and will show how these works blend spiritual and earthly concerns by appealing to both heavenly and worldly patrons through basic elements of music theory and practice. In both the self-referential compositions and St. Luke paintings, the inclusion of self-referential aspects brings the focus

[12] Higgins, "Musical 'Parents' and Their 'Progeny'"; and "Lamenting 'Our Master and Good Father.'"

of the finished work onto the craft and skill of the work's creator. Foregrounding modern technical achievements and appealing to an in-crowd of other professionals and patrons, these self-referential paintings and compositions forged connections between individuals who were knowledgeable about the internal workings of artistic creations. At the same time, they also appealed to spiritual patrons like St. Luke and the Virgin Mary for the long-term benefit of their creators' souls as members of communities of professionals.

2 | *Miserere supplicanti Du Fay*: Building Community through Musical Devotions at Cambrai Cathedral

Like Rogier van der Weyden, Guillaume Du Fay stands at the threshold of early modernity, with one foot in the structures of medieval traditions, and the other squarely in the more sensually comprehensible cultural environment of early modern artistic creation.[1] Although Du Fay's works did not make it into early polyphonic music prints, there is documentation of the copying and performance of his compositions into the early sixteenth century, including the continued use of his polyphonic hymns at the Sistine Chapel.[2] His theoretical works have not survived, but he was cited as an authority by theorists and historians from the pages of Tinctoris in the fifteenth century to Giovanni Battista Martini in the eighteenth. Despite this recognition, changes in notational practice and musical style have kept large portions of his *oeuvre* in relative obscurity, not only in the sixteenth century but also today. While much of the music of the Josquin generation is reasonably accessible to audiences and performers, awkward ranges in the middle voices, complex rhythmic and proportional relationships, and functional, *alternatim* musical styles have relegated Du Fay's compositions primarily to the interest of specialists and medievalists.

Du Fay was extremely influential during his lifetime, working in the major centers of Savoy and Rome at different times; not only was he educated at the cathedral of Cambrai, but he held important administrative positions there in later life, shaping its profile as a vital musical institution.[3] As perhaps the most important center of musical education in Europe in the fifteenth century, Cambrai provided the basic network and impetus for the musical careers of Du Fay and other professional singers, and Cambrai was also an important location for secular musicians, hosting international gatherings of minstrels, often called minstrel schools, in the fourteenth and

[1] I am not the first to have compared Du Fay's compositions to the work of the great Flemish painters. See Brown, "Dufay and the Early Renaissance," 219; and Nosow's discussion of devotional images and motets in *Ritual Meanings*, 143–66.

[2] Jeffrey Dean proposes that they were in use in the Sistine Chapel until at least the 1490s, when they were copied into VatS 15. Their use may have ended at some point in the 1530s, when the hymn cycle of Costanzo Festa was copied for the Sistine Chapel into VatS 18. See "Importance of Old Music," 143.

[3] Fallows, *Dufay*.

fifteenth centuries.[4] Cambrai straddled the political spheres of Burgundy and France, as well as maintaining important connections with Italy, especially Rome.

Du Fay, like other fifteenth-century musicians, used compositions, specifically chansons and motets, as commemorations or celebrations of personal and professional connections, similar to including a commemorative dedication in a book or the modern practice of posting and tagging group photos on social media. Compositions by Du Fay that mention names range from a lofty occasional motet bearing an acrostic for Robert Auclou, secretary of Cardinal Louis Aleman, to a rowdy May song, "Hé, compaignons," which lists nine of Du Fay's fellow revelers. While the large number of occasional texts set by Du Fay have provided fascinating glimpses into his social network, the way that these works functioned in the fifteenth century has drawn less attention. Exploring the professional and devotional context for two Latin-texted compositions by Du Fay that refer specifically to musicians active at Cambrai Cathedral (*Fulgens iubar* and *Ave regina celorum III*) will show how the act of self-referential musical commemoration empowered the composer's individual voice. Through references to music pedagogy and theory as well as to the venerable traditions of plainchant and Marian worship, Du Fay amplified, to heavenly and earthly audiences alike, his advocacy for the welfare of his own soul and his abiding concern for the musical community. In his prayer motets, Du Fay creates a remarkable musical signature, bolstering the efficacy of and continuity between his musical and physical monuments through connections to the living community of musicians.

The Devotional Context

Musical prayer motets for musicians and self-referential guild paintings occupied similar niches in the lives and deaths of fifteenth-century professional musicians and artists. Just as the commercial sale of generic devotional paintings for both private and public use was a burgeoning source of

[4] For an excellent examination of the musical practices of Cambrai see Houdoy, *Histoire artistique*; C. Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai" and "Performance Practices"; C. Wright and Bridgman, "Musiciens à la cathédrale"; Haggh, "Evolution of the Liturgy at Cambrai Cathedral," "Nonconformity in the Use of Cambrai," and "Foundations at Cambrai"; Curtis, "Simon Mellet, Scribe of Cambrai" and "Music Manuscripts"; Planchart, "Choirboys in Cambrai" and "Four Motets of Guillaume Du Fay in Context"; Naruo, "Masters of the Choirboys"; Rifkin, "*Omnium bonorum plena* Reconsidered." On meetings of musicians at Cambrai see Wegman, "The Minstrel School," and "Ockeghem, Josquin and Brumel."

income for fifteenth-century painters, performance and composition of polyphonic hymns and Latin-texted settings of other prayer texts were becoming increasingly central to the financial stability of professional singers. Although documentation naming the performance of specific motets was rare during the fifteenth century, it is generally accepted that one of the most important functions for the motet, as an extremely flexible but serious genre of composition, was as an adornment for votive services, which were usually paid for through an endowment of money or land.[5] Typically endowments for polyphonic music were made through the bequest of land or property to the church, the revenues of which could be used to pay singers to perform a musical prayer of some kind at a specific time for the soul of the deceased, either at a new service or as an addition to an existing one.[6] Endowed performance of motets embellished the liturgical practices of a location and also benefited the souls of individuals, families, or, in some cases, confraternal or guild memberships.[7]

Extant records of endowments for special services regularly include instructions for both a musical item and a devotional image or location, providing a focus for the performance.[8] Sometimes these instructions specify the title, performance ensemble, or musical style, but more often the specific musical choices are left to the discretion of the performers, and probably depended on local custom, the value of the endowment, and the nature of the image, liturgical season, or location of performance. For example, Johannes Martini, a canon at Cambrai Cathedral but not the

[5] Information on endowments comes from a variety of documents, including obit books, a variety of financial records, and the extant copies of the last will and testament of various individuals. For more information on music for votive services and endowments see Brown, "The Mirror of Man's Salvation"; Haggh, "The Meeting of Sacred Ritual and Secular Piety," "Singing for the Most Noble Souls," "Music and Ritual from the Time of Ockeghem," and "Foundations or Institutions?"; and Nosow, *Ritual Meanings*.

[6] For a general background on endowments for music see Haggh, "The Meeting of Sacred Ritual and Secular Piety." The record of property purchased for Josquin's endowment is a famous example, and can be read in Appendix A of Fallows, *Josquin*, translated on page 346.

[7] In his book *Ritual Meanings in the Fifteenth-Century Motet*, Robert Nosow has drawn together the scholarship of multiple authors to sketch out the ritual profile of a number of important cultural locations and proposed different ways in which the surviving motets associated with these locations functioned in their specific devotional environments. These locations include the English Chapel Royal under Henry V, the Veneto in the first half of the fifteenth century, civic ceremony in Bruges *c.* 1450, and personal endowments at Cambrai cathedral during the second half of the fifteenth century. In chapters 7 and 8 Nosow shows that endowed performance of motets was a key feature of the civic and devotional environments of Bruges and Cambrai in the second half of the fifteenth century.

[8] Sources for these are included in the testament documents for individuals and also in cathedral or chapel calendars and obit books. See Haggh, "The Meeting of Sacred Ritual and Secular Piety."

famous composer, made a large endowment for the weekly performance of a motet around sunset after the Saturday *Salve* service for the Virgin Mary, in place of the *Benedicamus*. He specifies that the motet should be performed at the "*altare feretrorum in ecclesia nostra*," or "altar of the shrine in our church," by the six "*pueri altaris*" with their master, and assisted by only one contratenor.[9] While he is careful to specify the ensemble, he leaves the choice of motet to the master of the choirboys, since, as an ongoing weekly performance, the motet would change with the season and the contemporary repertoire of the ensemble for the duration of the endowment, the terms of which were indefinite.[10]

Ostensibly contemporary customs would have made the exact location of the performance clear, since the indication to sing at the "altar of the shrine" is slightly ambiguous to a modern reader. Perhaps, like the general request for a motet, this wording also made allowance for the evolving customs surrounding the growing body of appropriate Marian images, altars, and relics housed at the Cathedral of Our Lady at Cambrai, including three costly Marian reliquaries, one containing a lock of Mary's hair, as well as a famous pseudo-Byzantine icon of Mary.[11] This icon, believed to have been painted from life by St. Luke, was installed in the Trinity Chapel in 1451, and was the nexus of the devotional activities of the confraternity that formed around it, of which Du Fay was a member.[12] From her extensive experience with the records of Cambrai Cathedral, Barbara Haggh concludes that Martini's endowment was intended to be performed on the right side of the transept, which seems to have had an altar, founded in 1369, called Notre Dame de la Flamenghe, but the wording itself is not precise.[13] Whatever the intended location for this endowed motet, this discussion illuminates a range of possible connections between weekly musical activities, an assortment of devotional Marian images, both icons

[9] Found in Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, fonds ancien B 39, one of two extant obit manuscripts from Cambrai, discussed in Strohm, *Rise of European Music*, 285, and transcribed as document no. 9 in Appendix C of Nosow, *Ritual Meanings*, 248–49. The manuscript belonged to the main choir of the cathedral.

[10] Some endowed services continued to be celebrated for hundreds of years.

[11] Maillard-Luypaert, "D'une 'Image de Notre-Dame'"; Houdoy, *Histoire artistique*.

[12] This confraternity was founded in 1453. For a discussion of this image see J. Wilson, "Reflections on St. Luke's Hand"; K. Wood, "Byzantine Icons in the Netherlands"; and Maillard-Luypaert, "D'une 'Image de Notre-Dame.'"

[13] It is unclear if she is basing this assertion on the ambiguous wording of the document, or on other information implicit in the manuscript or gathered from her personal experience with the church records. Haggh, "Foundations at Cambrai." For the original endowment see Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, fonds ancien B 39, fol. 54r, transcribed in Nosow, *Ritual Meanings*, 246.

and the works of contemporary painters and sculptors, and the body of Marian polyphony performed and composed at Cambrai.

Fifteenth-century devotional images and prayer motets performed similar functions, being the products of the activities and tastes of the middle and upper classes and reflecting cutting-edge artistic innovations through religious expression.[14] Both devotional images and the prayer texts of motets regularly crossed the threshold between the private spaces of Books of Hours and the semipublic and public spaces of votive altars. These altars were the prime locations for musically embellished ceremonies like the *Salve* service, noted above in connection with Martini's endowment.[15] Sources for some prayer texts include the promise of an indulgence, which could only be attained when the prayer had been recited or performed before a specific type of image. Bonnie Blackburn discusses a number of links between images and prayer motets in her articles on musical settings of the *Ave sanctissima* prayer.[16] She points out that the *Maria in sole*, the image necessary to obtain the enormous indulgence attached to the *Ave sanctissima* prayer, was included on the first opening of at least three manuscript sources for musical settings associated with this text, a chansonnier created for Margaret of Austria, and two books of polyphonic Masses, created for institutional use.[17] The inclusion of this image in different kinds of sources, for both ecclesiastical and private use, confirms the prayer function of the musical settings and the strong connections between devotional images, purgatory, and musical prayers in popular religion.

Even though musical prayers seem to be more transient than devotional painted images, lasting for only the duration of a performance, in the fifteenth century many paintings were covered much of the time, both to preserve the painting and to reserve the salutary function of the image for

[14] For an interesting discussion of the influence of secular musical interests on liturgy see Haggh, "The Meeting of Sacred Ritual and Secular Piety." Interesting too is the taste for Byzantine icons and images at this time, which seems to run counter to the hyperrealism of modern Netherlandish painting.

[15] For a fabulous discussion of the soundscape of a late medieval church in Florence see Zanovello, "Music and Devotional Space."

[16] Blackburn, "For Whom Do the Singers Sing?"; Blackburn, "Virgin in the Sun," 180–89. Blackburn also refers to musical settings of the *Salve sancta facies* and their connections to St. Veronica and the image of Christ that appeared on her veil, discussed by Brown, "On Veronica and Josquin."

[17] The pieces discussed are La Rue's canonic 6 from 3 motet, included at the beginning of BrusBR 228 and for the Kyrie of La Rue's *Missa Ave sanctissima*, included in two different manuscripts from Jena. See Blackburn, "Virgin in the Sun," 188–89. These manuscripts are now available online: www.idemdatabase.org/search.

certain times of the year. It seems to have been normal for the physical covering on a guild's altar painting, as on other Netherlandish triptychs, to be opened or uncovered for public viewing only during the major feast days associated with the guild's patron saints or on other important local feast days.[18] For example, Gerd Unverfehrt has pointed out that in 1520 when Albrecht Dürer visited Brussels his personal records show that he paid two Stüber to the local artists' confraternity in order to view the St. Luke painting that was installed on their altar in St. Gudula's church.[19] The image that he paid to see was probably the famous example by Rogier van der Weyden discussed in Chapter 1 (see Figure 1.1). Dürer was expected to pay either to enter the side chapel where the painting was housed, or to have the painting uncovered for his viewing; thus, his interest in and veneration of this specific painting, an object which was infused with sacred and secular power, also financially supported the local artists' guild. This demonstrates that in many cases both devotional images and motets could be occasional, available to those willing and able to pay for viewing, or to those capable of endowing or attending musical services on specific feast days or commemorations.

Given this background on the general context of popular devotions, I argue that prayer motets for musicians and devotional images for guilds of painters had similar functions in the fifteenth century and reflect complex networks of professional fraternity. Self-referential works for musicians and artists extended the professional activities of both trades to the spiritual benefit of their respective communities in a semipublic setting, adopting the practices of their peers in other professions. One of the main activities of guilds and confraternities was to retain the names of deceased members in their records and include them in weekly memorial services for their souls. In his painting, by assuming the prayer stance and guise of St. Luke, Rogier van der Weyden places himself in a position of perpetual adoration, a state that will be witnessed in perpetuity by his fellow painters. As mentioned in Chapter 1, although records for confraternities of singers or composers have not yet come to light, we do have endowments for musical memorials for a number of individual musicians, including Du Fay and Gilles Flannel, canons at Cambrai Cathedral, and we also have

[18] Jacobs, *Opening Doors*.

[19] Unverfehrt, *Da sah ich viel Köstliche Dinge*, 74–75. Interestingly this painting hung on the altar of St. Catherine in the church of St. Gudula's, the church where Du Fay's Requiem was performed and also where a portrait and epitaph for Josquin was displayed in the sixteenth century. For a look at the musical connections of this institution see Haggh, "Collegiate Church of St. Gudila," and also "Josquin's Portrait."

evidence for an endowment by Josquin Desprez in the sixteenth century, among others.[20] In providing endowment income for the performance of his own compositions, including his troped *Ave regina celorum III*, Du Fay ensured that his soul would be remembered through his own compositional voice in the professional activities of his musical comrades.[21]

Like the paintings of St. Luke as an artist, compositions about musicians should be seen as the musical products of the guild-like social structures that existed among groups of singers. Since ecclesiastical singers in the fifteenth century were often essentially itinerant and their primary professional network was that of the Catholic Church, it is not surprising that no formal written statutes for their professional associations remain, but they certainly built on their professional musical connections within the ecclesiastical context.[22] Rob Wegman has described various kinds of international gatherings of singers and, in an article on Moulu's *Mater floreat florescat,* David Fallows proposes just this sort of context for the original performance of Moulu's musicians' motet.[23] In their professional capacity, musicians frequented the same public spaces that housed important devotional works of art like the guild paintings of St. Luke – the side chapels and ceremonies of important civic churches. When performing a musical prayer for a musician or for musicians as a whole in these same spaces, these pieces turn their focus inward to the spiritual benefit of the singers but, like the technical elements in guild paintings, also advertise the skills of the group. These two groups of works, guild paintings and musicians' motets, reflect the public image that the professional communities that supported their creation were projecting to potential patrons. Thus, self-referential works could increase the financial security of the group directly, through endowments for performance, or, in the case of guild paintings, fees collected for viewings. As a result of this advertising of connections between individual producers

[20] For Cambrai see Nosow, *Ritual Meanings*, 168–200; and for Josquin see Kellman, "Josquin and the Courts," 26–28; and Fallows, *Josquin*, 346. For yet another see Wegman, "Testament of Jean de Saint Gille."

[21] In his will Du Fay provides income for the performance of a hymn, probably of his own composition, as well as his personal prayer motet at his deathbed, but because of a lack of time they were performed after an extremely well-attended funeral the next day. Houdoy, *Histoire artistique*, 409–14. Josquin and the lesser-known Jean de Saint Gille also endowed the commemorative performances of their own compositions.

[22] Reinhardt Strohm has found a register for a *confraternitas chori* at the church of St-Sauveur in Bruges but from his discussion this seems to be the name for the organization of the clergy of this church, which included musicians and others. Rijksarchief Brugge, Découvertes no. 101, cited by Strohm in *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, 51–55.

[23] Wegman, "From Maker to Composer," 471–73; and "Ockeghem, Josquin and Brumel," 212. Fallows, "Moulu's Composer Motet."

Table 2.1 Musical prayers for musicians composed by Du Fay at Cambrai

Title	Subgenre	Features	Unique Sources
Fulgens iubar / Puerpera, pura parens / Virgo post partum	Isorhythmic motet	Purification theme (Feb. 2) Acrostic in motetus, "we" in triplum Solmization puns in triplum	1448, Ferrara (ModE alpha. X.1.11)
Ave regina celorum III	Tenor motet / chant paraphrase	Marian antiphon for the season of Lent 2 tropes for Du Fay, 2 for "us" Solmization puns in musical signature	1464–74, Rome (VatSP B80)

of spiritually efficacious works, these musical and artistic creations stand as enduring testaments to the activities of these communities of professionals.

Tradition vs. Innovation in Two Chant-Based Musicians' Motets by Du Fay

At least two motets composed by Du Fay for use at Cambrai Cathedral mention professional musicians by name. Table 2.1 lists relevant details about these two pieces, including genre, information on the unique source for each piece, and features that make these motets relevant to discussions of self-reference and professional communities of musicians. Both motets set Marian texts and can be linked to the Lenten and pre-Lenten season. Wegman proposes that Lent was an ideal time of year for professional gatherings of musicians because the restrictions on polyphonic and secular music during this penitential season limited their professional activities at their home institutions.[24]

Fulgens iubar is unequivocally about the Purification, which occurs on February 2, and, at least in current practice, the *Ave regina celorum* is the Marian antiphon used in Compline from Purification until the Wednesday of Holy Week.[25] Both of these motets also feature self-

[24] Although Wegman is discussing secular musicians, I think his findings are relevant here since boundaries between sacred and secular musicians were at least somewhat fluid. Also, primarily sacred musicians were even more likely to observe the restrictions on musical performance during Lent. "The Minstrel School."

[25] *Liber Usualis*, 274–75. In his study on music in medieval Britain, Harrison shows that there was a lot of variety in the appropriate Marian antiphon for the different seasons of the liturgical year. *Music in Medieval Britain*, 81–88.

referential elements in a number of ways. Each makes subtle use of solmization puns, a trait that is related to the use of themes borrowed from music pedagogy and theory as markers of musical identity. These motets also feature texts written especially for these musical settings. As a result, when the texts of these pieces use the first-person plural, they are referring directly to the performers of the piece. Almost twenty years separate the two unique sources for these pieces. Although the two musicians named in the motets, Pierre de Castel and Du Fay himself, were both employed at Cambrai, the extant manuscripts are both from Italy and can be associated with the repertoire of Italian institutions – the Este chapel for the Modena source of *Fulgens iubar*, and the Roman basilica of San Pietro for Du Fay's prayer motet.[26] Similar to Rogier's formative and often-reproduced painting, *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin Mary*, self-reference is the key element of innovation in Du Fay's two musicians' motets, allowing the boundaries of these seemingly occasional compositions to be expanded and repurposed, from personal and corporate devotions, to general use by distant institutions.

Du Fay, *Fulgens iubar / Puerpera, pura parens / Virgo post partum*

Like earlier fifteenth-century motets commemorating musicians, Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar / Puerpera, pura parens / Virgo post partum* is cast in the traditional form for compositions written for specific occasions – the isorhythmic motet.[27] In isorhythmic motets individual and contemporary concerns, voiced in a variety of languages and textual forms, were superimposed over a cantus firmus.[28] The interplay between the extra-musical associations and presentation of a preexistent melody, usually drawn from the sacred repertoire of plainchant, and the two or three original texts written for the upper voices generated a complex web of meanings.[29] These

[26] Reynolds' introduction to the facsimile of *San Pietro B 80*. For ModE alpha.X.1.11 see *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550* (1979–88), vol. 2, 172, and vol. 4, p. 441. A facsimile of this manuscript is available through the *Biblioteca estense universitaria*, web, http://bibliotecaestense.beniculturali.it; made available by DIAMM.

[27] For a discussion of the context for early fifteenth-century occasional motets, particularly in Italy, see Cumming, "Concord out of Discord." Five isorhythmic musicians' motets from *c.* 1400 are transcribed and discussed in Harrison, *Musicorum Collegio*.

[28] Although Margaret Bent has recently questioned the validity and meaning of the term "isorhythm," I will use it as a way to refer to polytextual motets from before 1450 with a recurring *colore* (melody) and *talea* (rhythm). For Bent's main discussion of the problems with the term see her article "What Is Isorhythm?"

[29] Robertson, *Machaut and Reims* and "The Savior, the Woman, and the Head of the Dragon"; Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*; Cumming, *Motet in the Age of Du Fay*

works covered a range of topics, from politically infused motets for powerful rulers, like the motets composed to celebrate rulers in the Veneto, to works marking important events, like Du Fay's *Nuper rosarum flores*, which was probably composed to commemorate the dedication of Florence cathedral.[30]

At first glance Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar* seems to be a simple Marian motet for the feast of the Purification, or Candlemas, on February 2.[31] The cantus firmus in the tenor, "*Virgo post partum quem genuit adoravit*," aligns with the text and music at the end of two different Matins responsories associated with the Purification of the Virgin in a thirteenth-century antiphoner from Cambrai.[32] Although the lowest voice in the texture is textless and is not based on the chant melody, it is consistently paired with the tenor and labeled "tenor secundus" in both partes. These two tenor voices are set apart from the upper voices by means of differentiation of temporal values and extended periods of rests. Fallows points out how the isorhythmic structure of the cantus firmus, consisting of three repetitions of the *colore*, each composed of two *taleae*, is related to the influence of English motets, particularly those of Dunstable.[33] This compositional structure is reflected in the careful distribution of texts in the upper voices. New stanzas or half-stanzas in each of the two upper voices are aligned with the beginning of structural points, articulating the musical form and emphasizing the diminution of values in the lower voices, shown on the left of Table 2.2. The upper pair of voices set original texts with similar structures: four stanzas of text with the same rhyme scheme as the traditional French ballade – ababbcbC.

and "Concord out of Discord"; Lütteken, *Dufay und die isorhythmische Motette*; Allsen, "Style and Intertextuality."

30 On isorhythmic motets for the Doge and other rulers from the Veneto see Nosow, *Ritual Meanings*, chapter 3: "Processions in the Veneto," 56–83; and Cumming, "Music for the Doge." For the most recent contributions to the discussion of the relationship between *Nuper rosarum flores* and Florence Cathedral see Trachtenberg, "Architecture and Music Reunited"; and C. Wright, "*Nuper rosarum flores*."

31 *Fulgens iubar* has been previously discussed by Nosow, *Ritual Meanings*, 183–84; Fallows, *Dufay*, 60–61 and 118–23; Allsen, "Style and Intertextuality," 199.

32 Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 38, fols. 248^{v} and 249^{v}, *CANTUS Database,* http://cantusdatabase.org. This is also discussed in Holford-Strevens, "Du Fay the Poet?", 145. Holford-Strevens cites personal communication with Barbara Haggh, who confirms that the melodies in the Cambrai source are similar to the tenor of the motet.

33 Fallows, *Dufay*, 119–20. He argues that this structure may explain why it shows up in a fascicle of otherwise English motets in ModE alpha.X.1.11. Rob Wegman and Thomas Brothers also discuss this element of these works. Wegman, "Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus*," 296; and Brothers, "*Contenance angloise*," 34–35. For a discussion of how this piece relates to similar compositions from the same time period see Cumming, *Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 206–15.

Table 2.2 Du Fay, *Fulgens iubar / Puerpera, pura parens / Virgo post partum*

	TRIPLUM	
Talea 1	Fulgens iubar ecclesiae dei,	Shining glory of God's church,
	Peccatorum salus promptissima,	Most speedy salvation of sinners,
	Si precibus quibuscumque flecti	If thou mayst be swayed by any prayers
	Queas, nobis da, virgo beata,	Grant us, blessed virgin,
	Ut omnes qui tue mysteria	That all we who venerate
	Purificationis colimus	The mysteries of thy purification
	Post temporis hujus curricula	After (completing) the course of this age
	Sublimemur sanctorum sedibus.	*May be raised aloft in the dwellings of the saints.*
Talea 2	Quae semine viri peperisset,	In former times the law compelled
	Mulierem lex quondam cogebat,	The woman who had given birth by a man's seed
	Ut ad templum purganda veniret	To come to the temple to be cleansed,
	Partum ferens; lex haec non urgebat	Bringing her child; this law did not bind
	Mariam, quae virum non noverat.	Mary, who knew not a man.
	Illa tamen pro nobis omnibus	But she for all our sakes
	Legem tulit, **ut** nos quos amabat	Submitted to the law, that we whom she loved
	Sublimemur sanctorum sedibus.	*May be raised aloft in the dwellings of the saints.*
Talea 3	Quod purgari non indignaverit,	That she did not disdain to be cleansed,
	Huius festo monstrat ecclesia	The Church makes manifest in her feast
	Per cereum, quem tunc quisque gerit.	By a taper that each worshiper then holds.
	Luce enim qua fulget candela,	For by the light which the candle shines
Talea 4	Persplendorem vite in Maria	We all signify in harmony
	Concorditer omnes ostendimus,	The complete splendour of life in Mary,
	Ut per sue tandem precamina	That at length by her prayers
	Sublimemur sanctorum sedibus.	*May be raised aloft in the dwellings of the saints.*
Talea 5	O igitur virtutis exemplar,	Therefore, o pattern of virtue,
	Virginum lux, gloriosa virgo,	lustre of virgins, glorious maiden,
	Decus nostrum et, **ut** verum loquar,	Our adornment and (to say true),
	Viva virtus, pulcra pulcritudo,	Living virtue, beautiful beauty,
Talea 6	Sanctitatis excellens ymago,	Pre-eminent image of holiness,
	Humiliter a te requirimus,	We humbly beg of thee
	Ut post mortem cum dulci gaudio	That after death, with sweet joy, we
	Sublimemur sanctorum sedibus.	*May be raised aloft in the dwellings of the saints.*
	MOTETUS	
Talea 1	**P**uerpera, pura parens	Mother, pure parent
	Enixa regem seculi,	That didst bear the King of the world,
	Tibi non fit, orba parens,	Thy mind doth not become blind
	Ritu mens: vales seculi	As it obeyeth the ritual law customary rites;
	Vitam reddere, nonnulli	Thou hast power to restore life; and several
	Salvati sunt hoc limite;	Have been saved at this bounding line;
	Das hec merito tituli:	You grant these things by virtue of thy saying:
	"Fili, peccata remitte!"	*"My son, forgive sins!"*

Table 2.2 (*cont.*)

	MOTETUS	
Talea 2	**E**ya, virgo lapsu carens,	Hail, maiden without sin,
	Carta qua Ditem expuli,	The charter whereby I have expelled Death,
	Annuisti legi verens	Thou consentedst to the law
	Solvere legem; et puli	For fear of undoing the law; and the offered
	Turturum tis infantuli	Young of turtledoves
	Ex monstrant oblati vitae	Show forth the light of the life
	Lucem; prome quod intuli.	Of thy little child; utter the words I have put to thee:
	"Fili, peccata remitte!"	*"My son, forgive sins!"*
Talea 3	**L**arga mater, lux oriens	Generous mother, the dawning light
	Omen dedit opusculi,	Provided the omen for a little work,
	Cum Simeon non moriens	When Simeon, not dying,
	Amplexatur hunc: "oculi	Embraces Him: "Mine eyes
Talea 4	**N**umen vident" et servuli	behold the Godhead," and in the manner of a servant
	Tenore dat verbum "mitte!"	Utters the words: "Let me depart!"
	Ad Christum dic: "te protuli:	To Christ say: "I gave you birth;
	Fili, peccata remitte!"	*My son, forgive sins!"*
Talea 5	O igitur virgo clemens,	Therefore, O merciful maid,
	Que nos omnes redemisti,	Who hast redeemed us all,
	Domus dei, gemma fulgens,	House of God, shining jewel,
	Dulcis porta paradisi,	Sweet gateway of Paradise,
	Dic nunc, queso, tue proli,	Say now, I beg, to thine offspring,
Talea 6	Quem lactasti tuo lacte:	Whom thou didst suckle with thine own milk:
	"Istis qui serviunt tibi,	"For those that serve thee,
	Fili, peccata remitte!"	*My son, forgive sins!"*
	TENOR	
	Virgo post partum quem genuit adoravit.	After childbirth, the Virgin worshipped him she bore.

Trans. by Leofranc Holford-Strevens[34]

The texts of these upper voices relate a typical fifteenth-century understanding of the Virgin Mary's role as an example of obedience and humility through her willingness to submit to Jewish law, despite the fact that she was a virgin and therefore was not in need of ritual purification after childbirth.[35] This is closely related to the discussion of the Virgin's

[34] Holford-Strevens, "Du Fay the Poet?", 145–47.

[35] The texts are discussed and translated in Holford-Strevens, "Du Fay the Poet?", 145–50. The importance of Mary's obedience to Jewish law in submitting to a ritual cleansing is also a standard topic for late medieval sermons, as discussed in Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Mind*.

purification in Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, a book we know was in Du Fay's library because it is listed in an inventory of his belongings made at the time of his death.[36]

The primary element that ties this motet to professional musicians is an acrostic inscribed into the motetus. The first letter of each line for the first three stanzas of the motetus text, "*Puerpera, pura parens*," creates the imperative statement "*Petrus de Castello, canta!*" (shown in bold in Table 2.2). Alejandro Planchart has discovered documents showing that a Pierre de Castel was the master of the choirboys at Cambrai for at least lengthy segments of a ten-year period during Du Fay's tenure, from November 10, 1437 until December 1447.[37] Although the acrostic is essentially a simple message telling the master of the choirboys to sing, and perhaps even specifying which vocal line was intended for him, it has regularly been interpreted as bearing a deeper meaning. David Fallows suggests that it was written for the installation of Pierre as the new master of the choirboys, while Denis Stevens suggests that it would have been more appropriate for the occasion of his dismissal.[38] Stevens even ventures to propose, based on recorded difficulties concerning the choirboys and a surprisingly large expenditure on a boy found to be lacking vocal talent from around the time of Pierre's resignation, that the references to law-breaking and innocent turtledoves in the texts of *Fulgens iubar* indicate that Pierre was dismissed for inappropriate behavior with the children.[39] As I have shown in my discussion of the texts above, obedience to the law and an offering of turtledoves at the temple were extremely typical in the context of discussions of Mary's purification, both in extant sermons and the text of the *Golden Legend*. The refrain, "*Fili, peccata remitte*," asking Mary to intercede on behalf of sinners, fits comfortably into typical prayer texts and works of devotional art, and does not necessarily reflect badly on the musician named in the acrostic.[40]

[36] For an inventory of Du Fay's books see C. Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai." It is lacking from Houdoy because he only transcribed a partial inventory of Du Fay's books. For a modern translation of Voragine's discussion of the Purification see Voragine, *Golden Legend*, vol. I, 143–51.

[37] Planchart, "Du Fay's Second Style," 314.

[38] Fallows, *Dufay*, 60–61; and D. Stevens' review of Fallows, *Dufay* in *Musical Quarterly* 69 (1983), 604–06.

[39] Stevens is basing his argument on information cited by Fallows from the year 1447–48 in Lille, Archives du Nord, 4G 7762, f. 11 v. Apparently there was a high turnover in the choirboys during this period and large sums were paid to boys who were not being retained. Planchart shows, however, not only that Pierre remained in good standing with the administration of Cambrai Cathedral, but also that the position of master of the choirboys seems to have been an extremely difficult job and few stayed in it for long periods of time.

[40] Du Fay names himself a "sinner" in the tropes of *Ave regina celorum III*, in the context of praying for his soul.

Laurenz Lütteken shows that the text of the tenor of Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar* can be associated with a silver reliquary for the Purification. This reliquary was repainted in 1445–46 to display the final three words of the cantus firmus, "*quem genuit adoravit*," further strengthening the links between this piece and Purification rituals at Cambrai.[41] Robert Nosow describes in detail how, at least by 1501–02, this reliquary along with two others was carried in a large, public procession on the feast of the Purification that required the presence of the twelve peers of the county of Cambrai and all the commoners of the town. He argues that Du Fay's motet was composed to celebrate the gift of this precious reliquary in the fiscal year 1445–46 by Johannes Martini and that it was performed during the procession on February 2 in that year.[42] Although I agree that there are clear connections between the procession, the reliquary, and Du Fay's motet, it seems unwise to assume such a direct causal relationship between the inscription on the reliquary and the cantus firmus of the motet. Both items are explicitly connected to the Purification through the chants and their cultural implications. These were common currency for those actively involved in the liturgical cycles of Cambrai in the mid-fifteenth century and the correspondence simply shows that they were aligned with normative expressions of this important theme of Marian devotion. Nosow describes in detail the liturgical chants requested by Johannes Martini in his endowment for processions on Marian feast days and even states that "no obvious position presents itself for the performance of Du Fay's motet."[43] Although it is clear that this motet would have been appropriate in this context, other endowments by Martini himself specify exactly when and where a motet would be expected, weakening Nosow's claim for a specific performance date and location.

Nevertheless, it is fascinating that for this piece we have a link between a ritual context (the musical establishment at Cambrai during Pierre's tenure), a piece of devotional art (the reliquary for the Purification), and a specific composition including a reference to an individual musician. The inclusion of an imperative statement in the acrostic for the motetus voice (essentially saying "Sing, Pierre!") indicates that this line was intended to be sung by a certain individual – Pierre de Castel himself – but perhaps also that Pierre is especially recommended to the Virgin. Could Du Fay have been piggybacking a prayer for his friend Pierre onto an endowment by another wealthy associate, Martini? Records for Cambrai

[41] Lütteken, *Dufay und die isorhythmische Motette*, 300–01. The reliquary is described in an inventory compiled in part by Du Fay and reproduced in Houdoy, *Histoire artistique*, 351.
[42] Nosow, *Ritual Meanings*, 183–84. [43] Nosow, *Ritual Meanings*, 183.

indicate that the upper lines of motets were regularly performed with the boys on the top line, reinforced by their master on the next highest line in the texture.[44] This is supported by the text of the acrostic and also by the musical structure of the motet. The upper two lines in *Fulgens iubar* are interdependent, often moving in similar note values and cadencing together. These voices are presented as a duo in the introductory sections of the *talea*, while the two tenor voices have rests. All of this corroborates the interpretation that these two upper voices could have been performed by the choirboys and their master. The independence of these lines from the two tenors would allow this ensemble of younger musicians to practice on their own, without the two tenor parts, which could easily have been added for performance.

A variety of elements, including the acrostic, highlight this composition as a made object, and draw attention to the physicality of the musical notations, the texts, and the conditions of performance. First of all, the acrostic can only be appreciated and perceived when the text is written out in its original strophic, textual form. It is not easily deciphered or even detected within the musical *mise-en-page*. In the original manuscript source the letters of the acrostic in the first stanza, spelling "*Petrus de Castel*," are spread throughout the first opening; in this way, the constraints of the musical notation disguise the textual acrostic.[45] Although it is clear that the scribe of ModE alpha. X.1.11 did nothing to draw attention to the letters of the name in this section of music, this is in sharp contrast with the musical features of Du Fay's setting, which bring out the acrostic as much as possible within the constraints of a polyphonic context. Du Fay almost always places the beginning of each new phrase after a leap or a rest, accentuating the form of the text musically. Also, with the use of the word "canta," the acrostic refers directly to the act of singing. Although this confirms the original intention of this text for a musical setting, ironically that setting itself obscures the acrostic and the personal associations of the text.

In addition, every single time the top voice sings the Latin word "*ut*" (in bold in Table 2.2) it is set to the notes G, F, or C.[46] The notes G, F, and C are

[44] Discussed by Nosow, *Ritual Meanings*, 186; it is also evident in Du Fay's will, Houdoy, *Histoire artistique*, 409–14. For a broader discussion of performing ensemble see Fallows, "Specific Information."

[45] See the first stanza of the motetus from *Fulgens iubar* on folio 122v of ModE alpha.X.1.11, available online through DIAMM and through the *Biblioteca estense universitaria*, http://bibliotecaestense.beniculturali.it.

[46] Folio 121v of ModE alpha.X.1.11 contains the triplum for the first opening of the motet, with the three "*ut*"s occurring toward the ends of staves 2 and 5 and near the middle of staff 7. This manuscript is available online through DIAMM and through the *Biblioteca estense universitaria*, http://bibliotecaestense.beniculturali.it.

the letter names in the Guidonian gamut that can be sung to the syllable *ut* in the six-syllable system of solmization current in the fifteenth century.[47] Notably, the third occurrence of "*ut*" on the seventh staff from the top of the page includes a direct ascent to a signed bb♭, affirming the reference to the soft hexachord on F. One or two occurrences of the Latin word "*ut*" set to a note equivalent to the solmization syllable *ut* could be understood as accidental, but the fact that it happens a total of six times in a single motet and on every single occurrence of this word in the text implies that Du Fay was intentionally making a musical pun.[48] It is also notable that Du Fay is comprehensive, using each of the three hexachords at least once. This is particularly significant since this top voice was probably performed by the choirboys, who were in the process of being educated about music by the singer named in the acrostic for the motetus.[49] If my interpretation of the performance ensemble of this piece is correct, the upper two voices, one containing solmization puns and the other referring directly to the act of singing, were intended for the choirboys and their master Pierre, the very singers who were engaging with music pedagogy and using solmization as a tool on a daily basis.[50]

The self-referential aspects of this work evoke the community of musicians associated with Cambrai and illustrate how their identities as professionals could find expression in paraliturgical practices, similar to the paintings of St. Luke for painters'-guild altars. Based on the extremely different levels of skill exhibited in the rhyme scheme of the two texts, and the awkwardness evident in the motetus, Leofranc Holford-Strevens suggests that the strophic texts of the upper voices, although clearly related in content and form, were collaborative,

[47] In the modern edition of Du Fay's work edited by Bessler, *Opera Omnia*, vol. I, 124–30, these occur in measures 26, 64, 87, 134, 159, and 184. Solmization will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. For a general introduction to late medieval solmization see Cohen, "Notes, Scales, and Modes."

[48] With the word "pun," I do not intend to imply that this was a frivolous choice or action on Du Fay's part. In the discussion after my paper for the special session "Notation as Mode of Thinking" at the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance in Tours on May 30, 2014, organized by Katelijne Schiltz and Wolfgang Fuhrmann, all the participants had a fruitful discussion of the serious implications of ludic elements in fifteenth-century culture. I am grateful for the responses of Katelijne, Wolfgang, Philippe Vendrix, Fabrice Fitch, and Jane Alden. For a discussion of serious jokes and puns see Katelijne's book, *Music and Riddle Culture in the Renaissance*.

[49] The text of the triplum also refers to "*post temporis huius curricula*," which could be an allusion to the temporal aspects of the piece and the musical curriculum.

[50] Although Stefano Mengozzi has recently argued that solmization was less uniform than modern scholars have assumed, even its greatest opponent, Ramos de Parejia, used it as a way to talk about notes and musical space in his treatise, so it was clearly a reliable and universal method of communicating about specific pitches, at least in writing. For more evidence of how it was employed as a point of reference in teaching music theory and improvised counterpoint see Anna Maria Busse Berger's *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, 85–98 and 118–40.

written by two different authors but intended to work together.[51] Although it certainly could have been used in Purification rituals at Cambrai and elsewhere, it seems more likely that this motet would have been composed for a special gathering of musicians that coincided with the feast of Mary's Purification. As noted before, Wegman has shown both that gatherings of musicians were common on Marian feasts and also that professional and courtly musicians were often able to travel during or around Lent, since this was a time when there were restrictions on elaborate entertainments and music.[52] Since Purification often falls in or near the beginning of Lent, it could be an excellent time for a meeting of singers, at or near Cambrai.[53] Could Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar* serve the dual purpose of celebrating the Virgin on her Purification, while also honoring the musical establishment of Cambrai through a motet bearing a covert message to the fellowship of singers through an acrostic and solmization puns? Du Fay's motet fits well within the traditional form and function of the isorhythmic motet, but contains the seeds of innovation and personal devotional concerns that will flower into the more elaborate, overtly plaintive personal prayer motets of the next generation.

Du Fay, *Ave regina celorum III*

As mentioned before, Du Fay's third setting of the *Ave regina celorum* antiphon provides the perfect musical foil for guild paintings of St. Luke.[54] Although the only extant source for the motet is the Roman manuscript, VatSP 80, the Cambrai accounts for 1464–65 record a payment to Simon Mellet for copying "une athienne de N. Dame *ave regina celorum* c^{t} II feulles que a fait Me G. du Fay."[55] This implies that it was composed and probably in the repertoire of the cathedral at least ten years before Du Fay provided funds for its performance at

[51] Holford-Strevens suggests that the triplum text might be a preexistent text which Du Fay responded to in writing the acrostic-bearing motetus text. "Du Fay the Poet?", 148–49.

[52] Wegman, "From Maker to Composer," "The Minstrel School," and "Ockeghem, Josquin and Brumel."

[53] Barbara Haggh and Craig Wright have shown how important Cambrai was as a center for musicians in the fifteenth century. Haggh, "Collegiate Church of St. Gudila"; and C. Wright, "Performance Practices." It is also suggestive that when Ockeghem stayed with Du Fay for fifteen days in 1464, it was from February 20 to March 5, a period that fell within Lent. C. Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai," 227.

[54] Previous discussions of this motet include Fallows, *Dufay*, 134 and 211–12; Cumming, *Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 277–78, 286–87; Nosow, *Ritual Meanings*, 3, 196–200 and 204–05; T. Brothers, "*Contenance angloise*," 28, and *Chromatic Beauty*, 185–87; Planchart, "Du Fay's Last Works," 55–63, and "Du Fay's Benefices"; Wegman, "*Miserere supplicanti Dufay*," 19, 31; C. Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai," 219–20.

[55] The entry for the copying of a long setting of the *Ave regina celorum* by Du Fay, presumably the one with personal tropes, is transcribed in Houdoy, *Histoire artistique*, 195.

his deathbed in his last will and testament, drafted in early July 1474.[56] Demonstrating his continued musical relevance, Du Fay does not use the archaic, somewhat rigid structures of the occasional isorhythmic motet for his *Ave regina celorum III*. Instead his personal prayer motet and musical testament integrate his individual concerns into an innovative hybrid of generic elements from the tenor and chant-paraphrase motet subgenres.[57] For example, Du Fay weaves a series of short prayers for his own soul and the welfare of the choir, features associated with the occasional tenor motet, directly into the text and musical fabric of a devotional Marian chant that is paraphrased throughout all the voices.[58] Although in the single extant source the new tropes and antiphon text are only clearly laid out in the superius voice, the contratenor and bassus each have extended sections of text from both the antiphon and the original tropes, mostly in the second opening for the piece.[59] The musical content of these lines also incorporates elements of the preexisting antiphon melody into highly original musical sections that amplify the ardent pleas in the unique tropes.

The *Ave regina celorum* is a votive prayer that was incorporated into a rotation of votive Marian antiphons. It was sung at the end of the monastic office of Compline, among other flexible public and private uses, and it was often reproduced in Books of Hours for devotional contemplation.[60] The version of the antiphon tune that Du Fay used for his personal motet is very similar to the one in the modern *Liber usualis* (shown in Example 2.1), classified as transposed mode 6. It demonstrates a plagal range centered on C and incorporates an occasional b♭.

The text and music are from the twelfth century and reflect late medieval chant structures, including a clear modal center and symmetry of musical and textual lines. The first four lines are clearly divided into couplets, which I have labeled 1a/1b and 2a/2b in the first column of Example 2.1. These textual repetitions are reflected in parallel musical structures, using the double-versicle form associated with sequences. It was an extremely popular antiphon for polyphonic treatment, as is demonstrated by the fact that Du Fay alone had previously composed at least two settings of this text, and Julie Cumming lists ten different motets based on it in the index of works considered in her book

[56] Du Fay's will and testament are also available in Houdoy, *Histoire artistique*, 409–14.

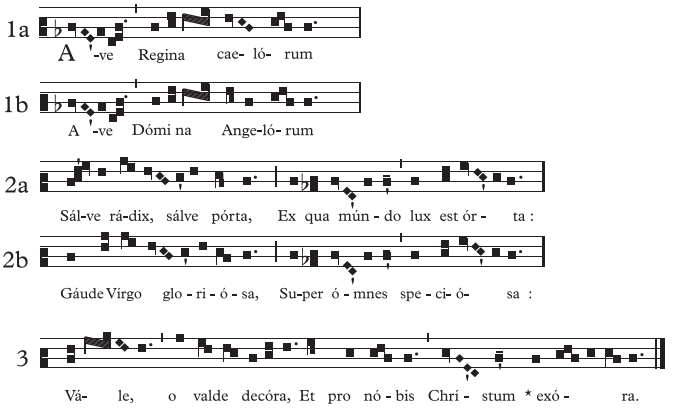
[57] Julie Cumming provides a thorough analysis of the range of motets composed around a cantus firmus between 1450 and 1475 and divides them into subgenres based on their features. My discussion in the following pages relies heavily on her work, particularly the discussion and tables in *Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 257–87.

[58] Rather than the isorhythmic approach, which would repeat a shorter segment of chant according to some series of diminution in the tenor.

[59] See Reynolds in the facsimile of *San Pietro B 80*, fol. 27v.

[60] Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 105; and Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 81–88.

Example 2.1 *Ave regina celorum* antiphon
Adapted from the *Liber Usualis* (1961).



The Motet in the Age of Du Fay.[61] As a chant that was performed regularly in Compline as well as at a variety of endowed, votive commemorations, it is not surprising that there are so many different musical settings, especially utilizing devotional types of music, and it likely served regularly as the basis for improvised counterpoint.

Du Fay's personal tropes are integrated into the antiphon text in Table 2.3. The double-versicle structure of the antiphon is labeled to the left, with Du Fay's original insertions designated with italic font. Typical of Marian prayers from the late medieval period, the first five lines of the antiphon text begin with common Marian greetings – *Ave, Salve, Gaude*, and *Vale* – echoing the angelic salutation of Mary by the angel Gabriel, the Annunciation, and the ubiquitous Ave Maria prayer.[62] Du Fay carefully divides the antiphon text and music between the two partes of the motet, alternating the stock Marian prayer with his four original insertions. He arranges the texts so that each pars opens with a short section based entirely on motives from the original Marian chant and then moves directly to the two tropes including his own name (highlighted in bold in Table 2.3). The text for each pars ends with a more universal appeal for assistance at the hour of death. In the secunda pars this request is made

[61] See the entries on 385–86. Some of these may reflect slightly different versions of the text and melody. The only incipit that has more entries is the "*Salve regina*," with eighteen settings. The "*Regina celi*" has nine entries, and "*Tota pulchra*" has eight. Not surprisingly these represent two Marian antiphons and a closely related centonate text from the Song of Songs, and Cumming classifies most of them as kinds of cantilena settings.

[62] For more on the history of musical settings of the *Ave Maria* see Anderson, "Enhancing the *Ave Maria*"; Hatter, "Reflecting on the Rosary"; and Freeman, "On the Origins."

Table 2.3 Text for Du Fay's *Ave regina celorum III*

	PRIMA PARS	
1a	Ave regina celorum	Hail Queen of heaven
1b	Ave domina angelorum.	Hail mistress over the angels.
	Miserere tui labentis ***Du Fay***	*Have mercy on thy dying* ***Du Fay***
	Peccatorum ne ruat in ignem fervorum.	*Lest, a sinner, he be hurled down into hot hellfire.*
2a	Salve radix sancta	Hail holy source,
	Ex qua mundo lux est orta.	From which light entered the world.
	Miserere genetrix Domini	*Have mercy, Mother of God,*
	Ut pateant portae caeli debiles.	*So that the gate of Heaven may be opened.*
	SECUNDA PARS	
2b	Gaude gloriosa	Rejoice, glorious one,
	Super omnes speciosa.	Beautiful beyond measure.
	Miserere supplicanti ***Du Fay***	*Have mercy on thy suppliant* ***Du Fay***
	Sitque in conspectu tuo mors eius speciosa	*And may his death be beautiful in thy sight.*
3	Vale, valde decora	Prosper greatly, most comely one,
	Et pro nobis semper Christum exora.	And pray for us always to Christ.
	*In excelsis ne damne****mur*** *miserere* ***nobis***	*Lest* ***we*** *be damned on high, have mercy upon* ***us***
	Et juva ut in mortis hora	*And help us so that in the hour of death*
	Nostra *sint corda decora.*	***Our*** *hearts may be serene.*[63]

explicitly more general through the use of the first-person plural (also shown in bold).[64]

I argue that this shift from the individual to the collective is an expression of a sense of community among musicians at Cambrai and among professional singers in general, similar to that evident in guild paintings and memorial membership rosters for guilds and confraternities. For Du Fay, "us" first and foremost indicated all the singers necessary for performance of his motet, since his textual insertions were original for this composition. The singers were the people that formed the core of celebrants at the liturgical ceremonies during which his composition could be sung, although other nonmusical celebrants and observers could have been included as well as the general population of the diocese. In his last will and testament drafted in early July 1474, Du Fay indicated that he wished for his motet *Ave regina*

[63] Translation from Fuller, *European Musical Heritage*, 159–60. The text is discussed and partially amended by Planchart, "Du Fay's Last Works," 55–63.

[64] For more on music and the hour of death see Nosow, "Song and the Art of Dying."

celorum III to be one of the pieces of music sung at his deathbed, in his actual *hora mortis*, as stated in the text. Du Fay went so far as to specify that the desired ensemble for this motet was different from that of the hymn, which was to be sung just before. For the motet, he requested to have choirboys alone on the superius, supported by their master and one choirboy on the upper contratenor and two other men on the lower parts, the cantus firmus tenor and the low contratenor bassus.

Let us examine the text from Du Fay's last will and testament of July, 1474:

. . . si, hora pati possit, sint octo ex sociis ecclesie juxta lectum meum qui, submissa voce cantent hympnum Magno salutis gaudio, pro quo lego XL solidos P.

quo hympno finito pueri altaris, una cum magistro eorum et duobus ex sociis, inibi similiter presentes decanetent motetum meum Ave regina caelorum pro quo eis lego XXX solidos.[65]

[. . . if time allows, let eight of the companions of the church sing the hymn *Magno salutis gaudio* next to my bed in a low voice, for which I bequeath 40 Parisian soldi,

and when this hymn is finished, the altar boys, one with their teacher and two of the companions, will in the same place also sing my motet, *Ave regina celorum*, for which I bequeath them 30 soldi.][66]

Although they are labeled differently, the four voices in *Fulgens iubar* and *Ave regina celorum III* have an almost identical allocation of clefs and use very similar ranges, showing that the same arrangement of voices would have been adequate for both of Du Fay's musicians' motets.[67]

As discussed previously, similar specifications for ensembles, especially indicating the inclusion of choirboys, are made in a number of entries in the extant obit books from this time period. Du Fay requests this specific ensemble, even though the eight adults who had just sung the hymn could probably have also performed the motet if necessary.[68] This is significant

[65] Houdoy, *Histoire artistique*, 410.

[66] Translated by Lars Lih. It is notable that Du Fay provided forty soldi for the performance of the hymn, ten soldi more than he provides for his motet. Probably this indicates that he desired the hymn to be performed in polyphony rather than just plainchant and it likely refers to a lost composition. As the hymn was to be performed in a soft voice by eight of the *socii*, probably indicating adult singers, this demonstrates the unsurprising fact that the adult ensemble would be paid more per performance. This is also another example of the pairing of a hymn and a motet in an endowed performance.

[67] The clefs for *Fulgens iubar* are C1, C3, C3, C4, and the clefs for *Ave regina* are C1, C3, C3, C5.

[68] The implications of this deserve further investigation. Seemingly a single choirboy would join his master, who was probably singing in falsetto, in singing the altus. Would this improve the blend and how would it alter the quality of the sound? Why not have the choirboys also sing the hymn? If the hymn was a composition by Du Fay, it is easy to imagine that he desired to enjoy

since, as arguably the most famous musician at Cambrai at the time and a longtime leader in the musical community, Du Fay shows that he wishes to be surrounded by his musical progeny, both the adult male ensemble and the boys, at this most important transition point from life to death.[69]

It is often overlooked, however, that even during Du Fay's lifetime the *hora mortis* was not the only appropriate performance location and context for this motet. Evidently this setting of the *Ave regina celorum* was a significant enough part of the repertoire of the choir to be officially copied by Simon Mellet for the cathedral, a full ten years before Du Fay's death.[70] This indicates that although Du Fay certainly had specific intentions at the time of composition for this motet's use at his deathbed – evident in both the textual tropes and his last will and testament – it was probably also performed on a regular basis by the choir in other contexts. Thus, both before and after Du Fay's death, the performances of his *Ave regina celorum III*, from the cathedral choirbooks and other sources, placed Du Fay and his community repeatedly before the intercessory gaze of the Virgin Mary, just like the many donor portraits bequeathed to chapels and side altars.[71]

Johannes Martini's endowment for a weekly performance of a motet following the Saturday *Salve* service, mentioned previously, was just one of many contexts for devotional Marian polyphony. Reinhard Strohm, Kristine Forney, Craig Wright, Pamela Starr, and others have shown that endowments by individuals and confraternal groups were necessary supplements to the income of singers in the Low Countries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[72] During Du Fay's lifetime he was deeply involved in endowments and a variety of other activities that were building the stability and embellishing the beauty and ritual life of the newly consecrated cathedral. Du Fay was active in all aspects of the life of the cathedral, from forays to the south to

the strengths of both ensembles on two works composed specifically for each group. Although the relationship between modern and fifteenth-century vocal production is complicated, the number of times that the choirboys or men are specified in the Cambrai documents can give us a glimpse into the desired sound world of fifteenth-century polyphony and seems to warrant more thorough investigation.

[69] Sadly, it was not possible to honor his request during his final hours, but they were performed after the funeral. Houdoy, *Histoire artistique*, 409–14.

[70] Houdoy, *Histoire artistique*, 195.

[71] Interestingly in his will, just after his discussion of his deathbed arrangements, he bequeaths a devotional image or donor portrait of Symon le Breton with the Virgin Mary to the grand vicars so that they can display it on the altar during the obit services of both Symon and Du Fay. For a famous example of a donor portrait see Jan van Eyck's *Madonna with Chancellor Rolin* (Paris, Musée du Louvre).

[72] Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*; Forney, "Music, Ritual and Patronage"; C. Wright, "Antoine Brumel and Patronage"; Robertson, "The Mass of Guillaume de Machaut"; Haggh, "The Meeting of Sacred Ritual and Secular Piety"; Starr, "Musical Entrepreneurship."

investigate potential suppliers of wine, to supervising improvements to the choirbooks and musical repertoire, and even surveying a damaged canal lock near Cambrai with qualified workmen.[73] By combining a personal prayer with a prayer for the larger community of his musical colleagues, creating an extremely flexible musical item, Du Fay extended his commitment to the health of this community beyond the boundaries of his own lifetime. By composing musical works that were both personal and appropriate for use in multiple musical Marian devotions, Du Fay also ensured that he could be remembered by the *socii de musica* in his own endowed obituary services, but also in other musical services, like Marian processions and the weekly *Salve*.[74]

In *Ave regina celorum III* Du Fay's compositional approach is both innovative and affective, uniting the symbolic power of cantus firmus technique with the sensuous beauty of melodic paraphrase and sweet intervals, showing the influence of trends in popular devotions and the *contenance angloise*.[75] As Julie Cumming points out, "by combining the grandeur of the occasional motet and the cyclic Mass with the sacred liturgical associations of chant paraphrase, Du Fay created a motet with encyclopedic references to the subgenres of the large-scale motet of the time."[76] Thus, at the beginning and regularly throughout the rest of the motet, Du Fay holds back the tenor entry until the other voices have moved on to the personal prayer, evoking the gravity of the occasional motet form and ensuring that his personal prayer receives the full sanctifying function of the cantus firmus. This shift from a duet to full texture at the entrance of

[73] C. Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai," 194.

[74] Du Fay endowed a yearly memorial/obit service on the feast of St. Mary of the Snows. Recorded in Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS *B. 39*, fol. 56r and translated and discussed in Strohm, *Rise of European Music*, 285. It is probably not a coincidence that this feast was closely associated with the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, the home of probably the most famous icon of the Virgin Mary, believed to have been painted by St. Luke. Du Fay was a member of the newly formed religious confraternity associated with another icon of Mary bequeathed to Cambrai in 1451 and also believed to have been painted by St. Luke. This image seems to have been a symbol of the plight of Byzantium and to have been used to foster support and build funding for another crusade. For more information on the Roman image see Wolf, "Cult Images of the Virgin in Mediaeval Rome," 31–37. For discussions of icons associated with St. Luke in the Low Countries see K. Wood, "Byzantine Icons in the Netherlands," and J. Wilson, "Reflections on St. Luke's Hand."

[75] For some of the arguments around the *contenance angloise* see T. Brothers, "*Contenance angloise*"; Cumming, *Motet in the Age of Du Fay*; and Fallows, "English Influence on Continental Composers."

[76] *Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 278. Cumming shows how this famous motet was connected to a complex of three anonymous motets that blend chant paraphrase and tenor motet features – *Ave beatissima civitas* from TrentC 89, *Vidi speciosam* from LucAS 238 and VatS 15, and *Ave Maria* from TrentC 91.

the tenor is a standard choice for Mass movements and motets from this time, but Dufay's use of it emphasizes the personal nature of the text. The result is that much of the time his prayer tropes are layered on top of the preexisting Marian text, like an isorhythmic motet, but without the at-times-restrictive structures of that form. By retaining the segmented approach to the cantus firmus in the tenor from the isorhythmic or occasional motet, but embellishing the melody and adding a smooth rhythmic profile, Du Fay fashions an iconic occasional work infused with the intimacy and delicacy of a devotional image, like Rogier's representation of the *Maria lactans* within his personal and self-referential depiction of St. Luke.

Du Fay's Musical Signature: Signifying the Musical Profession with Solmization Puns

Like others of his contemporaries, including Pierre de La Rue and Petrus Alamire, Du Fay indicates his status as a musician by incorporating musical notation into his signature.[77] I have examined three examples of Du Fay's name drawn from three different kinds of sources, each directly connected to Du Fay's construction of his public self. The first is one of the four rebuses or decorative shields from the corners of Du Fay's funeral monument in St. Stephen's chapel (shown in Figure 2.1 and in full in Figure 2.2); according to Fallows, this monument was completed, except for the inscription of the date, before his death and was certainly approved if not designed by Du Fay himself.[78] The other two are actual signatures, one from an official receipt for a salary due to another musician at Savoy, and the second a letter from Du Fay to Piero and Giovanni de' Medici.[79]

Both the signatures and the funeral monument incorporate a combination of letters and musical notation, symbolic of both his name and profession. In each signature, after the "Du" comes a C clef with a single staff line through it containing a long, followed by the letter y. In the system of solmization standard

[77] Famous examples include the famous music scribe, Petrus Alamire, and attributions for the composers, including Pierre de la Rue and Alexander Agricola, in the Segovia manuscript. Herbert Kellman has shown that Alamire is a sobriquet, probably created by Peter van den Hove to advertise his professional status, while the other examples cited might be just scribal "puns," and may or may not have been used by the composers. For an insightful discussion of signatures see Wegman, "Isaac's Signature." Also see Meconi, "Alamire, Pierre de La Rue, and Manuscript Production"; Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture*, 343–45.

[78] *Dufay*, 82. For a discussion of Du Fay's wall-memorial in the context of other northern European memorials for canons see Brine, *Pious Memories*.

[79] To see reproductions of the signatures see Fallows, *Dufay*, Ill. 18, discussed on page 71.

Figure 2.1 Detail from Du Fay's funeral monument
Photograph © 2019 Douglas Brine

in Du Fay's time, the note c could be solmized "*fa*" in the hard hexachord based on g.[80] Du Fay clearly assumed that the people who would need to interpret and validate his signature on these documents would be educated enough about music theory and solmization practice to interpret and appreciate his musical pun, or could at least easily have it interpreted for them.[81] The rebus for the funeral monument is more compact, with the staff line itself curving around to become the capital letter G, standing for his first name, "Guillaume," and a vertical arrangement of the "du" and "y" filling the upper and lower halves of the G. The use of a form of this musical signature transformed into a heraldic device on his funeral monument indicates that his status and achievements as a professional musician were central to his identity both in life and in the way that he wanted to be remembered after death.

I believe that Du Fay's choice to compose his personal musical prayer around the *Ave regina celorum* was influenced by the relationship between two prominent musical features of this votive antiphon and his musical signature.[82] As mentioned before, the *Ave regina celorum* melody (shown in Example 2.1) revolves around C, beginning and ending almost every phrase

[80] It could also be "*sol*" in the soft hexachord, based on f with b♭, and could also serve as the first note of the natural hexachord, solmized as "*ut*." Solmization will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

[81] These are the only examples of Du Fay's signature that I have been able to view and in each he was clearly writing in his capacity as a musician, which explains why he would choose to include notation. It would be interesting to know if he used this form in other contexts.

[82] Alejandro Planchart recently made his new edition of the complete works of Dufay available for free through DIAMM, www.diamm.ac.uk/resources/music-editions/du-fay-opera-omnia/.

with this note. This is the same note used by Du Fay in his signature and in the heraldic device on his funeral monument.[83] In addition to this, the antiphon exploits the affective quality of "*fa*," introducing B♭ in the first pair of phrases and changing to B♮ in the second. Although Du Fay's signature uses C as "*fa*," B♭ could also be "*fa*," and would have been another, less succinct option for his orthographically mixed signature. A fifteenth-century professional musician and pedagogue like Du Fay, who signed his name in documents – and memorialized himself in stone – with a musical pun, would certainly be aware of and possibly attracted to the multiple expressions of the solmization syllable "*fa*," either as the focal note C, or as a signed B♭, in the votive *Ave regina celorum* antiphon. This antiphon was itself part of his professional activities, as he had composed and performed multiple versions of it, and it was probably integral to his personal devotions.

I speculate that the two most striking moments in this motet, and arguably in the history of fifteenth-century music, may be interpreted as the sounding version of Du Fay's name and musical signature.[84] These moments depend on both a solmization pun around Du Fay's name and the plaintive effect of a descending "*fa-mi*" semitone in his setting of the self-referential tropes – "*Miserere tui labentis Du Fay*" and "*Miserere supplicanti Du Fay.*"[85] In fifteenth-century music theory B was the only letter name used in the gamut that contained two different pitches, referred to as the soft (flat) and hard (natural) versions, which would be solmized as b *fa* or b *mi*, but this same principle could be applied to E when necessary, especially when building a "fictive" hexachord on B♭.[86] In each self-referential trope the superius enters after a rest on the text syllable "*mi*" of "*miserere*" set to the note ee♭, indicated by a signed flat which would always have to be solmized as "*fa*."[87] According to the practice of *soggetto cavato*, or deriving musical subjects from the vowels of a name or phrase, the letter "y" could be interpreted as the solmization syllable "*mi*"; therefore, Du Fay's name could have been considered to contain both "*fa*" and

[83] Of course, if there is a B♭ C can become "*sol*" and can also be "*ut*" in other melodic contexts. This ambiguity is inherent to the system of solmization in use in the fifteenth century.

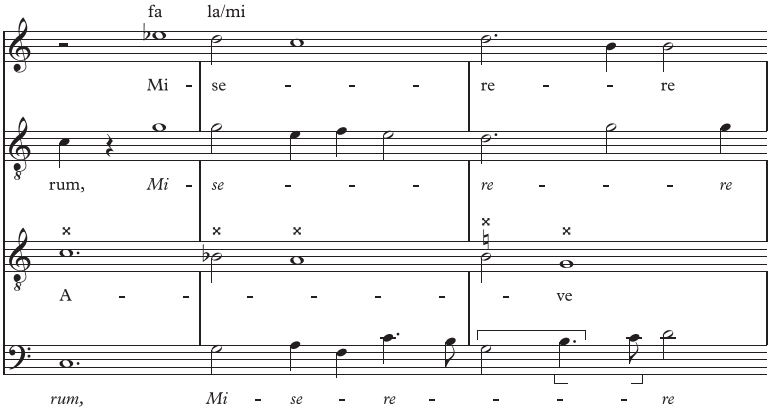
[84] See measures 21 and 86 in Bessler's edition, Dufay, *Opera Omnia*, vol. I, 124–30.

[85] See Table 2.3 for the complete text.

[86] See the example of b *fa*/*mi* on a *scala generalis* from Gaffurius' *Practica musice* in Figure 6.5. E♭/e♮ was considered, for the most part, to be part of fictive music, or outside the normal range of notes in the gamut, even though it was fairly common.

[87] T. Brothers calls the use of signed "*fa*"s in the personal tropes "discursive," and shows its connections to Du Fay's earlier chansons, *Chromatic Beauty*, 186.

Example 2.2 Setting of *Miserere tui labentis Dufay*, m. 21–23



"*mi*."[88] Since Du Fay clearly had an interest in these kinds of puns, as his musical signature itself proves, the placement of the plaintive ee♭ of "*fa*" on the text syllable "*mi*" should be understood as a little solmization joke. In this one note/text combination Du Fay represented both syllables of his name – "Fay" or "*fa*" and "*mi*."[89]

In addition, the importance of the "*fa-mi*" semitone to Du Fay as a self-reference is made clear through its prominent melodic usage in the main thematic material of his personal narrative of salvation. First, although the supplicatory request "*Miserere*" occurs in each of the four original tropes inserted into the *Ave regina celorum* prayer, semitones created by signed "*fa*"s descending to a "*mi*" only occur in the ones that use Du Fay's name. In the first of these the superius enters a semibreve after the first note of the cantus firmus in the tenor on C *sol fa ut*, as shown in Example 2.2.[90]

The superius sings a notated ee♭, which would have been solmized as "*fa*," followed by a descent of a semitone to d, which could have been understood as "*la*" or "*mi*."[91] This is a moment of remarkable beauty. When they enter halfway through the first note of the cantus firmus, the

[88] As far as I know, the first instance of this is in the ostinato figure of Josquin's "Vive le roy," where the "y" of "Roy" is performed as an E in the natural hexachord and a B in the hard. The term *soggetto cavato* was first discussed by Zarlino in his *Istitutioni harmoniche* of 1558 but was in use much earlier.

[89] Thomas Brothers has also proposed that the use of signed "*fa*"s in Du Fay's personal tropes are, in part, a compositional expansion of an ambiguity between the two kinds of B in the version of the *Ave regina celorum* antiphon available to Du Fay. *Chromatic Beauty*, 186.

[90] Measure numbers are included to allow for easy reference to the edition of the piece in Dufay, *Opera omnia,* ed. by Bessler, vol. 5.

[91] It would have been "*la*" if applying the rule of "*una nota super la est semper fa*," and "*mi*" if solmizing in the fictive hexachord on B♭. For more on rules for solmization and *musica ficta* in

upper voices turn the open octave between the bassus and tenor into a sweet minor chord. The flat in the superius is not obligated by the polyphonic context, but is rather added *causa pulchritudinis*, or for the extra beauty and quality of the minor color.[92] Thus Du Fay enhances the supplicatory text by foregrounding the same "*fa*" featured in his musical signature, not only in the C "*fa*"-centric exposition of the cantus firmus, and the prominent use of B "*fa*," but also in the exposed and expressive addition of ee♭ of the superius for the first personal trope.

The "*fa-mi*" semitone is even more prominent in the second personal trope, near the beginning of the secunda pars. The secunda pars opens with two trio sections, the first incorporating a motive based on phrase 2b of the cantus firmus. The second trio presents a clearly identifiable canon between the superius and contratenor, supported by a closely related line in the bassus, and all three lines are highly inflected with signed "*fa*"s. As shown in Example 2.3, the canonic upper voices begin with E♭ and the bassus even has a notated A♭, while in measures 90–92 each B is carefully marked with a "*fa*" sign. All three lines exploit a pair of descending semitones, which must be solmized as "*fa-mi*" in standard fifteenth-century hexachordal solmization. Indicated above or below the individual lines in Example 2.3, this set of periodic imitative entries brings attention to the plaintive "*fa-mi*" motto. This is an expansion of the affective opening of the superius voice in the first personal trope of the prima pars into two other voices and is extended by repetition at other pitch locations (shown above the staff in Example 2.3).[93] For the superius and contratenor these are E♭ to D and C to B♮ in two different octaves, and for the bassus they are written as A♭ to G followed by E♭ to D.

Although the imitation is not exact in the bassus, it clearly still should be solmized as "*fa-mi*" because of the signed "*fa*"s, and may constitute the first motivic use of *inganno*.[94] Although the ee♭ in the first self-referential trope, shown in Example 2.2, might seem simply to anticipate the B♭ of the chant,

the late medieval period see Cohen, "Notes, Scales, and Modes," 341–46; and K. Berger, "The Guidonian Hand" and *Musica Ficta*, 2–55.

[92] *Causa pulchritudinis* is a term used by Anonymous II in the *Tractatus de Discantu*, ed. and trans. by Albert Seay, 32–33. For a detailed discussion of this term and an application of the concept to the fifteenth-century chanson repertoire see T. Brothers, *Chromatic Beauty*, esp. 185–87, where he discusses the *Ave regina celorum III*.

[93] Although in the prima pars the solmization could have been "*fa la*" rather than "*fa mi*" because of the polyphonic context, the relationship between the two mottos is clear since they are actually the same pitches.

[94] *Inganno* is the use of a motive that uses the same solmization syllables but creates a different melodic outline because of changes between hexachordal locations. The history and use of the term is discussed in Schubert, "A Lesson from Lassus," 10–11.

Example 2.3 Setting of *Miserere supplicanti Dufay*, m. 86–96

fa mi fa mi
90
Mi - se - se - re, mi - se - re - re sup - pli - can -
fa mi fa mi
Mi - se - se - re, mi - se - re - re sup - pli -
fa mi fa mi fa mi
Mi - se - re - re, mi - se - re sup - pli - can -
95
mi ut / fa
- - - - ti Du - fa - - y
can - - - - ti Du - fa - y
- - - - - *ti Du - fa - y*

which occurs with the next breve, perhaps it is more significant that these chromatic inflections constitute a destabilizing of the harmonic context to reinforce the prominence of the syllable "*fa*" as a representative of Du Fay and his unique relationship with the *Ave regina celorum* antiphon through a musical interpretation of his name and signature.

The interpretation of these signed "*fa*"s as the compositional equivalent of his musical signature is reinforced by the incorporation of the second of these musical self-representations into his polyphonic *Missa Ave regina celorum*, another piece which is strongly connected to Du Fay's self-presentation to both earthly and heavenly patrons. For one thing, this Mass was included in one of the manuscripts bequeathed by Du Fay to Charles the Bold, arguably the most important earthly patron of music in northern Europe during Du Fay's lifetime, and it was delivered to Charles after Du Fay's death.[95] It may also have been featured in the memorial

[95] Discussed in C. Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai," 218.

service that Du Fay instituted for himself in 1471–72, providing income to support the performance of a Mass on August 5th, the feast of Mary of the Snows.

Die quinta Augusti in quaquidem solemnitas agitur sancte Marie ad Nives fiet de eadem beata maria missa celebris pro Magistro Guillermo du fay Canonico sacerdote quamdiu uiuet et post decessum eius obitus de xii lb. turon. distribuendis prout in missa domini decani continetur.

[On the 5th of August, when the solemn feast of Saint Mary of the Snow is celebrated, will be sung a solemn Mass of the same Blessed Virgin Mary for Magister Guillermus Du Fay, canon and priest, throughout his lifetime, and after his death an obit, with 12 *livres* of Tour to be distributed in the manner described in the Mass of the chapter dean.[96]]

As Strohm points out, the entry in the obit book indicates that a Marian Mass was to be performed each year until Du Fay's death, and that after his death the performance would change to an obit service, probably including his now lost Requiem Mass. It is likely that the "*missa de . . . beata virgine*" would have been his *Missa Ave regina celorum*, a polyphonic work based not only on the same votive antiphon but also, in some sources, parodying and quoting polyphony from his personal setting of the *Ave regina celorum* prayer.[97] In most but not all of the sources for this Mass the middle of the final movement, Agnus Dei II, includes a striking section of music borrowed directly from the motet, quoting exactly the music of Example 2.3. Interestingly, Wegman has shown that in the copy of the Mass in Brussels 5557, the quotation from Dufay's motet was a later addition or revised version.[98] Whether this was recomposed by Dufay or constitutes an elaboration by another musician, it reinforces a personal interpretation of this passage as Du Fay's musical signature.[99] The chromatic movement and

[96] Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS *B. 39*, fol. 56r. Transcription and translation from Strohm, *Rise of European Music*, 285.

[97] Strohm proposes that he composed the Mass precisely for his memorial service, *Rise of European Music*, 284–68. Planchart, although he originally suggested that it was composed for the dedication of Cambrai Cathedral, has accepted Strohm's idea and elaborated on it in "Du Fay's Last Works." Fallows discusses the musical connections between the Mass and motet, *Dufay*, 210–11.

[98] Wegman, "*Miserere supplicanti Dufay*," 21.

[99] The fact that this is clearly a reworking of the Mass reinforces the relevance of this quotation as a musical reference to Du Fay, whether the recomposition was completed by Du Fay or by another musician who was aware of both of these self-reflexive compositions and wished to enhance the Mass with the inclusion of the beautiful music of Du Fay's personal trope. Interestingly, Wegman has shown that in the copy of the Mass in Brussels 5557, the quotation from Dufay's motet was a later addition or second version. Whether this was Dufay's intention or an elaboration by another scribe, it connects the personal intention of the two works.

remarkably stark, imitative texture make these moments stand out from the rest of the composition. Whether in the motet or polyphonic Mass, this eloquently constructed polyphonic complex musically represents Du Fay before the Virgin Mary, and also does so in the memories and voices of his musical comrades when they sing his compositions.

Conclusion

Thorough analyses of these two self-referential compositions by Du Fay demonstrate how musical and professional identities could be and were expressed through music, and how intimately these were connected with fifteenth-century devotions and professional practices. As a prominent musical figure with a stable and fairly well-documented career as a church administrator, and connections to musical establishments in both Italy and northern Europe, Du Fay presents an excellent point of reference for understanding what it meant to be a successful musician in Europe in the fifteenth century. Du Fay's incredible skill in navigating the complex political environment of Italy, sliding deftly between Rome and Savoy in the early years of his career, has long been admired.[100] What has not been as widely recognized is how his self-presentation in documents and late compositions expresses a continued dedication to this work of network building, both on behalf of professional musicians and for the general welfare of Cambrai Cathedral.

Through its inclusion of references to prominent local saints and to Roman liturgy, Du Fay's funeral slab (shown in Figure 2.2) and memorial endowment represent the delicate balance he forged between his connections with the Burgundian, French, and Roman political spheres. Although the exact identities of the other figures are somewhat uncertain, this monument undoubtedly includes a self-portrait of the composer – the figure kneeling to the far left, which has unfortunately been significantly damaged. The central image is the resurrection of Christ, an obvious subject for a funeral monument. Considering the numerous references to St. Waldtrude and to Du Fay's name saint, St. William the Confessor or

[100] Du Fay also created various occasional compositions that document or narrate his early political and professional movements, from "Adieu ce bons vins de Lannoys," a song of farewell to the region of Laon dated 1526, to the acrostic-bearing occasional motet for Robert Auclou, *Rite majorem Jacobum canamus*. On "Adieu" see Fallows, *Dufay*, 26–82, 86–98. On *Rite majorem* see Fallows, *Dufay*, 108–13; Planchart, "Du Fay's Benefices," 128–29 and "Four Motets of Guillaume Du Fay in Context," 17–25.

Figure 2.2 Funeral monument of Guillaume Du Fay, *c.* 1470–74. Stone bas-relief, Palais des Beaux Arts de Lille.
Photograph © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY

William of Bourges, in Du Fay's will, it is likely that these saints are represented in this monument.

The adult female figure directly behind Du Fay probably represents St. Waldtrude, the patron saint of Mons.[101] Her four children, also important local saints, would account for the two soldiers in front and the two smaller female figures in the background.[102] The male figure on the far right behind Christ and holding a staff could be St. William of Bourges, who was a French abbot known for his austerity. The monument situates

[101] Houdoy, *Histoire artistique*, 409–14. Du Fay's connections to Mons are catalogued by Fallows, *Dufay*, 64–65.

[102] Fallows also interprets this figure as St. Waldtrude but fails to note that in many hagiographies she is said to have had four children, including two sons, which would thus account for both of the saintly solders. Their names are Saints Landry, Dentelin, Aldetrude, and Madelberta. She came from a family of saints, with both her parents being saints and a sainted sister, St. Aldetrude, and she was married to the man who came to be known as St. Vincent of Soignies. See Dunbar, *Dictionary of Saintly Women*, vol. 2, 298–99.

Du Fay's devotional life squarely in the north and reflects the political networks of Cambrai, with a family of Belgian saints accompanied by a French one. In addition, the establishment of his endowment on the feast of St. Mary of the Snows, a new feast imported from Rome's Santa Maria Maggiore, confirms Du Fay's interest in supporting Cambrai's Roman connections, reinforced by the exchange of personnel between Cambrai and the papal curia.[103] The spiritual and professional concerns thoughtfully laid out and provided for in his will and presented in his memorial reinforce the similar concerns evident in his self-reflexive motets and polyphonic Mass.[104]

In *Fulgens iubar* Du Fay used the occasional function of the traditional isorhythmic motet, a pithy acrostic, and solmization puns to draw attention to musical professionals as a group worthy of Mary's special intercession. In his final *Ave regina celorum* setting Du Fay transformed the antiphon by incorporating some isorhythmic elements with more up-to-date forms of devotional music and reflecting his personal concerns in both the text and the music. Through a dramatic use of cantus firmus and paraphrase techniques Du Fay crafts a personal musical object, blending tradition and innovation to convey a compelling narrative of salvation, exemplified by his musical signature, a kind of musical self-portrait. The fact that this self-portrait was comprehensible when transferred into the Agnus of the Mass, where it musically signifies Du Fay in an appeal both to the Virgin, as the recipient of the *Ave regina* prayer itself, and to Christ, as the *Agnus dei,* confirms the growing importance of compositions as made objects and as the products of individual skill.

Yet *Fulgens iubar* and *Ave regina celorum III* are only two of Du Fay's many pieces that make reference to music-making or musicians, others including his "Hé, compaignons," which lists nine musicians, and "Je veuil chanter de cuer joyeux," which sets a text that forms an acrostic for an individual who was possibly a singer and that also talks about singing.[105] David Fallows has proposed that Du Fay also wrote an important musical lament for Binchois, "En triumphant de cruel deuil," a piece that will be

[103] Rome was important for all clerics. It was especially significant for musicians as the locus of benefice acquisition and the home of the Sistine Chapel choir, the ultimate musical ensemble for clerical musicians. For more on the importance of Rome to professional musicians see Starr, "Rome as the Centre of the Universe" and "Musical Entrepreneurship."

[104] He also supervised the recopying and significant improvement of the manuscripts and repertoire of the choir at Cambrai, thus demonstrating his interest in the continued health of the musical establishment.

[105] On the connection between some of the singers and the Malatesta musical establishment see Planchart, "Du Fay's Benefices," 124.

discussed in Chapter 4.[106] In addition, Du Fay was himself the subject of Compere's famous musicians' motet, *Omnium bonorum plena*, and his name was included in Moulu's *Mater floreat florescat*, as well as being listed among the important historical musical figures cited in music-theory texts for many generations. In this context, how should we understand the high number of self-reflexive works that survive by Du Fay and the composers of the subsequent generations?

Although self-referentiality was certainly not new in the fifteenth century, if, like the self-referential paintings of St. Luke for artist's guilds, such examples represent the way that musicians expressed connections among themselves as a corporate body with shared education and skills, they can provide a window into the process of professionalization that led to the establishment of the first professional composers *c*. 1500 and the establishment of individual musical voices and styles. The public, corporate devotions and activities of guilds and confraternal groups provide an excellent forum for teasing out these complex threads of fifteenth-century constructions of professional identity and devotion as expressed by musicians. Du Fay, like Rogier van der Weyden, reflects contemporary devotional practices while situating his memorial artifacts and musical signature or self-portrait within a venerable tradition, providing tools for future generations of composers. The following chapters will explore how two closely related compositional trends – musicians' motets (Chapter 3) and musical laments for musicians (Chapter 4) – are related to the professional community of ecclesiastical musicians revealed by Du Fay's self-referential motets.

[106] Fallows gives the argument for interpreting "En triumphant" as Du Fay's lament for Binchois in "Two More Dufay Songs," 358–59.

3 | *Ora pro nobis*: Forms of Self-Reference in Musical Prayers for Musicians

Self-referential features provide a unique way to view the community of elite musicians active in the late fifteenth century and the connections between members of this group in the decades leading up to the emergence of the first professional composers in *c.* 1500. These types of pieces are not exclusive to the fifteenth century, as is clear to anyone who has ever enjoyed the genre of the backstage musical, from Mozart's *Der Schauspieldirektor* (1786) to *Cabaret* (1966).[1] In the fourteenth century Guillaume de Machaut regularly employed self-reference, often coupled with complex compositional design, as in his famous canonic "Ma fin est mon commencement."[2] Other self-referential works are found individually in English and Continental manuscripts of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, grouped together in the Chantilly Codex, and Binchois even referred to a large group of musicians in his motet commemorating the baptism of the son of Philip the Good, *Nove cantum melodie.*[3] Understanding how these types of pieces function within their particular musical and cultural environment can help us understand the social dynamics of musical ensembles and the interfaces between self-presentation and professional status. Building from the key features of Du Fay's motets for musicians at Cambrai – names in either the text or as an acrostic, a mixing of personal and professional concerns within supplicatory texts, and musical puns that rely on an understanding of music theory – this chapter examines ten Latin-texted or Latin cantus-firmus-bearing pieces composed between *c.* 1450 and 1505 that can be termed "musicians' motets."

Like Du Fay's motets composed at Cambrai, the pieces listed in Table 3.1 are all musical prayers that include the names of musicians in the text or

[1] McMillin, *Musical as Drama*; Cheng, "Opera *en abyme*."

[2] Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician.*

[3] For a discussion of Machaut's self-referential works see Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician.* On late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century musician's motets see Bent, *Two 14th-Century Motets in Praise of Music*; Bent and Howlett, "*Subtiliter alternare*"; Harrison, *Musicorum Collegio*; and Howlett, "*Apollinis eclipsatur.*" For the baptism motet by Binchois see Binchois, *Sacred Music of Gilles Binchois*, ed. by Kaye.

Table 3.1 Musical prayers for and about musicians, *c.* 1450–1505

Composer	Title	Subgenre	Self-referential features	First source
Du Fay	*Fulgens iubar / Puerpera, pura parens / Virgo post partum quem genuit adoravit*	Isorhythmic motet	– Acrostic in motetus – "We" in triplum – Solmization puns	1448, Ferrara (ModE alpha. X.1.11)
Du Fay	*Ave regina celorum III*	Tenor motet / chant paraphrase	– Personal tropes – Prayer for singers	1464–74, Rome (VatSP B80)
Compere	*Omnium bonorum plena*	Tenor motet	– Prayer for singers – Names Du Fay and followers – Request for the author	1460–80, Trent (Trent 91)
Busnoys	*Anthoni usque limina*	Constructed tenor motet	– Signature – Prayer for musicians	1460–80, Bruges (BrusBR 5557)
Busnoys	*In hydraulis*	Constructed tenor motet	– Pythagoras and Orpheus – Homage to Ockeghem – Highlights royal patrons	1466, Innsbruck (Leopold Codex)
Josquin	*Illibata dei virgo*	Constructed tenor motet	– Prayer for musicians – Acrostic signature – *Soggetto cavato* in tenor – Solmization puns	1495–1500, Rome (VatS 15)
Compere	*Sile fragor*	Imitative motet	– Describes musical ritual – Prayer for the singers	1495–1500, Rome (VatS 15)
Anon.	*Decantemus in hac die*	Imitative motet	– Discusses musical prayers – Prayer for "musicians and singers"	1505, Venice (*Motetti libro quarto*)
Josquin	*Ce povre mendiant / Pauper sum ego*	Motet-chanson	– Prayer for professional advancement	1505–06, Bruges (LonBL 35087)

refer to the act of musical production as the main subject. In contrast to earlier fourteenth- and fifteenth-century motets listing musicians employed by a particular patron, the groups of musicians listed in these pieces cannot be directly connected through a specific benefactor.[4]

Self-reference is evident in the texts of these compositions in two main ways: through the inclusion of the names of individuals known to be musicians, or through the evocation of the act of making music. Although there is a certain amount of influence in these works from the courtly environment of chanson production and performance, I will not discuss self-referential chansons.[5] In these motets, musicians' names are either directly stated, as they were in two of the four tropes inserted into Du Fay's personal setting of the *Ave regina celorum* antiphon, or incorporated into the text in some slightly concealed but easily identifiable way, like the acrostic which names the master of the choirboys in the motetus of Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar*.[6] The texts of many of these pieces also refer to the act of musical prayer, and some pieces include descriptions of the actions of the choir as a corporate body, without naming any individual musicians. Organized by subgenre, Table 3.1 also shows the date and location for the earliest source for each piece, to give a sense of the chronology. Relevant textual and musical features are noted in the fourth column. A few of these motets also include musical structures or mottos borrowed from music theory, like hexachords and solmization themes, and other musical techniques that draw attention to the musical medium, features that will be discussed at length in Chapters 5–7.

While the Latin-texted compositions of this type have been referred to as musicians' motets, a term that suggests a sense of corporate identity through the recognition of features that would appeal to professionals or others with musical training, the social and professional implications of

[4] For this reason, I have chosen to exclude pieces like Binchois' *Nove cantum melodie*, which includes a list of musicians, or Mouton's *Exsultet conjubilando Deo*, which makes explicit reference to the act of singing, because in both of these motets musical references are clearly presented as an extension of service to a specific patron. Binchois was providing music to celebrate a royal birth and Mouton was honoring Pope Leo X, possibly as part of the political campaign of Francis I. See Heyink, "Zur Wiederentdeckung der Motu proprio-Erlasse Papst Leos X. an Jean Mouton," 53–54. In the case of *In hydraulis,* which mentions the Duke of Burgundy and the French king, I feel that the main focus of Busnoys' motet is on the connection between the two musicians in the text, Ockeghem and Busnoys, not their respective patrons.

[5] Some of the most famous examples of self-referential chansons include Machaut's "Ma fin est mon commencement," Baude Codier's "Tout par compas suy composés," and Du Fay's "Hé, compaignons." Fallows, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480.*

[6] Both of these examples were discussed in Chapter 2.

this awareness of musical community have rarely been explored.[7] This seems a particularly important field of enquiry for scholars focusing on the second half of the fifteenth century, a period which Rob Wegman affirms saw the birth of the professional composer and which led directly into the mass production and distribution of the first single-composer prints (beginning with Petrucci's *Misse Josquin*, published in Venice in 1502).[8] There has been a fair amount of research on Isaac as the first "court composer" and on Josquin as his rival for this distinction. While Josquin and Isaac certainly stand out for their individual musical and career achievements, it is sometimes neglected that they were two members of a broader, interconnected community of musical professionals, all struggling for recognition and financial stability in a rapidly changing world.[9] What do the musicians' motets listed in Table 3.1, as traces of this musical community, tell us about how connections between professionals were formed and recognized in the decades leading up to 1500?

These motets expand our understanding of the way musical environments reflected the social structures of other guilds and confraternities. Most of these pieces are identified as "musicians' motets" because they include the names of individual musicians either in the text or as an acrostic.[10] Although some of the texts are "autobiographical," many make reference to other musicians, often incorporating an homage to a "teacher/father" figure from the previous generation.[11] The three pieces

[7] Fifteenth-century musicians' motets are more commonly used in discussions of the biographies of individuals, rather than explored for their implications as expressions of corporate identity. One notable exception is Higgins's discussion of compositions by and for Ockeghem as an expression of "creative patrilineage." For her more recent discussion of this subject see "Lamenting 'Our Master and Good Father.'" Wolfgang Fuhrmann also gave an interesting presentation on the subject entitled "Musicians Motets and Musicians' Motets in the Late Middle Ages: Notation, Self-Reflexion and Social Identity" at the conference, "Notation as Mode of Thinking," held at Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance – séminaire de musicologie (May 29–30, 2014) in Tours. Self-reference and authorship in Machaut and *ars subtilior* are more common subjects of enquiry, as we will see in the next section.

[8] For a discussion of the implications of Petrucci's *Misse Josquin*, see Fallows, *Josquin*, 1–7. For the basic discussion of musical professionalization, see Wegman, "From Maker to Composer."

[9] On Isaac as a "court composer" see Zanovello, "Isaac in Florence, 1502–17"; and Wegman, "Isaac's Signature." We also have a wonderfully candid, contemporary (and much-cited) account of Josquin and Isaac's highly contrasting public personas and compositional strategies from the Ferrarese agent Gian di Artiganova. See Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 225–28; and Fallows, *Josquin*, 235–39. For a discussion of the particular challenges facing professional church musicians *c.* 1500 see Wegman, *Crisis of Music*.

[10] For a discussion of the visuality of acrostics see Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture*, 274–75.

[11] Although Senfl's "Lust hab ich gehabt" seems to be the result of the same trend and shares many features (including autobiographical content, an acrostic for the composer, an homage to and prayer for a famous teacher, and reference to the tools of the musical craft as a motto) with the

discussed in the second half of the chapter – Compere's *Sile fragor*; the anonymous motet, *Decantemus in hac die*, from Petrucci's *Motetti libro quarto;* and Josquin's motet-chanson, *Ce povre mendiant / Pauper sum ego* – omit names entirely, instead foregrounding music through references to the specific professional activities or concerns of musicians. As a group, the pieces discussed in this chapter demonstrate connections among musicians through both the memorial and prayer function of naming individuals and the evocation of group identity through references to specific aspects of their profession. These interrelated strains of self-reference both built a sense of the musical community and contributed to the elevation of the musical profession, especially with regard to composition.

Authoring the Author: Machaut and Establishing Musical Tradition in the Fourteenth Century

Self-referential motets and chansons were not new in the mid-fifteenth century, as numerous compositions and poems by Machaut attest, including the canonic "Ma fin est mon commencement" and the *Voir dit*, and the large number of pieces from the *ars subtilior* that explicitly discuss music-making or musicians.[12] Diverse scholars have discussed issues of authorial voice and signature in both the musical and nonmusical poetry of Machaut's highly self-conscious *oeuvre*.[13] A significant amount of work is required of the reader to unveil most of Machaut's hidden signatures, including the writing down of "clues" that must be manipulated to find some form of Machaut's name and sometimes also the name of a patron. In his reassessment of Machaut's anagrams, Laurence de Looze demonstrates that the process of "finding" the name "hidden" in the text is actually a fiction, since in reality the reader must know a work's author in order to

musicians' motets, I have not included it because it is a German strophic song from a significantly later period. The unique source for this piece is WienNB 18810 (Augsburg, 1524–33).

[12] On Machaut see Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician* and "Dead Famous" among others. For some discussion of the *ars subtilior* see Stone, "Self-Reflexive Songs"; Plumley, "Playing the Citation Game"; Tanay, "Fourteenth-Century *Sophismata*." Ciconia also includes his name in multiple compositions, see Stone, "The Composer's Voice" and "A Singer at the Fountain." Also see Bent, *Two 14th-Century Motets in Praise of Music*. Also discussed in the conference presentation by Wolfgang Fuhrmann mentioned in footnote 7 of this chapter, "Musicians Motets and Musicians' Motets."

[13] Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician*. Other important works in this discussion include Lassahn, "Signatures from the *Roman de la rose* to Guillaume de Machaut"; De Looze, "A New Look at the Anagrams of Guillaume de Machaut"; Brownlee, *Poetic Identity*.

either begin or complete the quest. Yet in this ludic process, "the reader authors the author who in turn authorizes the reader's discovery of Machaut in text after text."[14] Nicole Lassahn has pointed out how the complexity of Machaut's anagrammatic signatures, along with various features of the content of his *Remede de Fortune* and the *Dit de la fonteinne amoureuse*, "are related to the explicitly written character of his poems, and to his status as professional writer and *poète*."[15] In her book, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician*, Elizabeth Eva Leach presents a masterful look at the life and works of Machaut and the interplay between the musical and nonmusical works in his manuscripts, demonstrating how the man is reflected, revealed, and, at points, concealed through the physical artifacts of his works.[16] Machaut thus promotes himself through his *oeuvre*, asserting his status as a professional author through ludic presentations of his own name and by drawing attention to the physical and enduring qualities of written objects. Machaut's self-presentation, preserved by and disseminated through the painstaking collection and organization of his works in manuscripts for an elite courtly environment, is related to the form of professional identity presented in the late-fifteenth-century musicians' motets to be discussed in this chapter.

The Chantilly Codex is another notable source for the purposes of discussing self-reference in earlier generations because it contains a significant number of compositions that name musicians or discuss technical aspects of music-making. It is indebted to the momentous figure of Machaut and the dissemination of his work and reputation into the fifteenth century.[17] The self-referential content of this source is perhaps unsurprising because it contains *ars subtilior* repertoire; this is in itself a mannered musical style, known to regularly present and reflect upon notational complexities and puzzles.[18] Through an analysis of eight compositions with self-referential

[14] De Looze, "A New Look at the Anagrams of Guillaume de Machaut" (1988), 540. De Looze demonstrates his point by showing that the letters of one of Machaut's anagrams can be used to find a wide variety of names, including the contemporary Machaut scholar "Sylvia [H]uot," "Victor [H]ugo," "Georges Sand," and "August Rodin" among others, indicating that one finds the name based on a greater number of criteria than just the letters. See pages 548–49.

[15] Lassahn, "Signatures from the *Roman de la rose* to Guillaume de Machaut," 77.

[16] Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician.*

[17] The Chantilly Codex contains three pieces by Machaut and the lament written for him by Deschamps and Andrieu. See Elizabeth Eva Leach's discussion of Machaut's influence in the Chantilly Codex in "Dead Famous"; and also, Upton, *Music and Performance*. Upton includes an excellent discussion of the dedicatory ballades in Chantilly, which she claims "can be seen as material survival from an otherwise undocumented social event," 76.

[18] On self-referential or self-reflexive compositions in the Chantilly Codex see Hirshberg, "Criticism of Music and Music as Criticism"; Stone, "Self-Reflexive Songs"; and Leach, "Dead Famous."

texts from the Chantilly Codex, Jehoasch Hirshberg has argued that these works should be understood as "self-reflexive biting criticism . . . presented as pejorative illustrations" of the notational and rhythmic innovations of the *ars subtilior*.[19] Interestingly, Kevin Brownlee has pointed out that it is in the Chantilly Codex that the term *poête,* a word previously reserved for authorities from antiquity, was first applied to a roughly contemporary author, Machaut.[20] The term is applied by poet Eustache Deschamps and composer Franciscus Andrieu in their encomiastic lament for Machaut, both the music and text of which are uniquely preserved in this manuscript.

In their analysis of the fifteenth-century ownership and cultural context for the Chantilly Codex, Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone propose that its first documented owner, a Florentine banker named Francesco, acquired it between 1526 and 1536 while he was serving the papal curia.[21] They assert that "certainly by 1461 and probably several decades earlier, the manuscript had become a collectible, a fifteenth-century Florentine banker's souvenir of a world already antiquated and beginning to be historicized."[22] The next owners were the daughters of affluent Florentine banker Tommaso Spinelli, who had connections to the Medici family. The legal format of the inscription on the front page, recording the receipt of this manuscript by the Spinelli family in 1461, indicates that this exchange may represent the payment of a financial debt, demonstrating that despite the datedness of its repertoire and notation the Chantilly Codex continued to be valuable into at least the mid-fifteenth century.[23]

Although most of the repertoire is secular, the fifth and final gathering of the Chantilly Codex contains thirteen polytextual motets, six of which are musicians' motets (shown in Table 3.2). Three of these contain long lists of musicians' names while the others demonstrate conspicuous musical features that bring attention to the written form and connections to music theoretical discourse, including the mensural transformation in *Inter den-*

[19] Hirshberg, "Criticism of Music and Music as Criticism," 134.

[20] See Brownlee, "Identity of Discourse," 220.

[21] Plumley and Stone, "Buying Books, Narrating the Past," 96–97. The authors present a number of alternate scenarios in *Codex Chantilly*, "Introduction," 179–82.

[22] Plumley and Stone, "Buying Books, Narrating the Past," 98. The authors also consistently argue that the music of the Codex would not have been performable in the mid-fifteenth century. Yet if the original owner collected the repertoire during his youth in Paris – one of the possible scenarios – or even a little later in Rome, he probably could still have performed it, even if more modern compositions used different notational conventions.

[23] Plumley and Stone, "Buying Books, Narrating the Past," 95.

Table 3.2 Musicians' motets in the Chantilly Codex[24]

Composer	Title	References to music or musicians
Johannes Alanus	*Sub Arturo plebes / Fons citharzancium / In omnem terram*	– Triplum praises contemporary English composers and theorists – Duplum gives history of great musicians, leading up to himself, as both composer and performer of this line
B. de Cluni	*Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis / In omnem terram*	– Triplum praises twelve contemporary composers, "the light of Apollo" equates music and the sun[25] – Duplum praises historical theorists and claims the composer to be a master of theory and practice – Added voice in later source about the Christianization of pagan practices of music
J. de Porta	*Alma polis religio / Axe poli cum artica / [In omnem terram]*[26]	– Praise of Augustinian musical achievements – Music of the spheres – Ends with hymn quotations
Anon.	*Inter densas / Imbribus / Admirabile*	– Mensural transformation of a hexachordal cantus firmus through eight different mensural species
Anon.	*Pictagore per dogmata / O terra sancta / Rosa vernans caritatis*	– Pythagoras – Motetus names poet and composer – Triplum names contemporary singers
Anon.	*D'ardant desir / Se fus d'amer / Nigra est set formosa*	– Notational joke involving red notes, related to content of tenor

sas / Imbribus / Admirabile, which will be discussed in Chapter 6.[27] In addition to the concerns with notation and the large number of musicians named in the texts themselves or as composer ascriptions, folio 37 r of

[24] For additional information on these pieces see the facsimile edition of the *Codex Chantilly*, ed. and intro. by Plumley and Stone; Bent, *Two 14th-Century Motets in Praise of Music*; Harrison, *Musicorum Collegio*; and Howlett, "*Apollinis eclipsatur.*"

[25] See transcription and translation in Howlett, "*Apollinis eclipsatur.*"

[26] Wolfgang Fuhrman pointed out the similarities between this melody and the melody used in the tenor of *Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis/ In omnem terram* in the presentation noted in footnote 7. Although it sets a different version of the melody, the tenor of *Sub Arturo plebes / Fons citharzancium / In omnem terram* is associated with the same text.

[27] It may also be notable that five of the thirteen motets in the Chantilly Codex are also cited in at least one music-theory treatise, indicating a connection between this "historical" repertoire and music-theoretical discourse.

this manuscript also includes a grotesque miniature depicting two groups of clerical singers.[28] These singers are intensely engaged in singing from books of polyphony that resemble the Chantilly Codex itself; this creates a little *mise-en-abyme*, and reinforces visually the self-referential nature of the repertoire.

Even if the musicians and amateurs in Florence who encountered the Chantilly Codex in the mid-fifteenth century could not perform the repertoire, they may have been influenced by the musicians' names in the texts and ascriptions, by the discussions of musical practices in the texts, and by the notational games. Wegman has argued for a direct connection between Eloy d'Amerval's *Missa Dixerunt discipuli* (composed *c.* 1570) and the Anon. *Inter densas / Imbribus / Admirabile*, preserved uniquely in the final gathering of the Chantilly Codex.[29] There are also many striking similarities between Chantilly's anonymous musicians' motet, *Alma polis religio / Axe poli cum artica* and Compere's *Omnium bonorum plena*.[30] The self-reflexive content in this source may have increased its value in the mid-to-late fifteenth century, at a time when there was a renewed interest both in establishing a musical tradition and in continuity between music theory and practice.

Name-Dropping: Anagrams, Acrostics, Prayer, and Creative Patrilineage

The importance of musicians' names in compositions in the decades around 1500 is multifaceted, involving the intersection of three main cultural contexts. In commemorative culture, names have a prayer function, especially in the form of the names included on memorial works of art or in the registers of the dead which were read by clerical and confraternal groups or guilds.[31] Names are also linked to the increasing interest in composer ascriptions, expressions of a new recognition of the composer

[28] This image can be consulted in the facsimile edition, *Codex Chantilly*, ed. and intro. by Plumley and Stone.

[29] Wegman, "Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus*," 251–52.

[30] Including of course the lists of musicians, but also the use of quotations from preexistent hymns as evocations of the act of musical prayer: Sedulius' alphabetic hymn on the birth of Christ, *A solis ortus cardine* in the triplum, and seemingly two Marian texts in the motets, Fortunatus' *O gloriosa domina* and *Beata nobis gaudia*, the latter often ascribed to Hilary of Poitiers. In Compere's motet, musical prayers are evoked through the *Ave* and *Ecce ancilla domini*.

[31] On confraternities see Banker, *Death in the Community*, Black and Gravestock, eds, *Early Modern Confraternities*, and Eisenbichler, ed., *Crossing the Boundaries*.

as a category of professional musician. Both of these are reflected in the third context, the creation of musical genealogies in compositions and music-theory treatises that link historic/mythical musicians with modern, living practitioners. These genealogies reinforce the continuity of the musical tradition from pagan antiquity to the Christian present.[32] Memorial and prayer function was a key feature of mid-fifteenth-century confraternal practice and was indicative of the professionalization of an international community of composers who were establishing a sense of their own history.

As the multifaceted Church career of Du Fay exemplifies, ecclesiastical musicians were engaged in various roles at the institutions where they were employed, yet for many musically skilled clerics, musical prayer in endowed services was an important and lucrative professional activity, supplementing the often meager salaries of clerical singers.[33] The obituary calendars of Cambrai Cathedral regularly specify the performance of a hymn or motet and show how memorial pieces, like Du Fay's *Ave regina celorum III*, functioned in the day-to-day and year-to-year liturgical cycles. Foundations for musical performance ensured that the names of the individuals entered into the registers would be brought to the attention of the Virgin Mary and other saints for the purpose of preserving their souls and reducing their time in Purgatory.[34] In memorial compositions for musicians these musical actions become self-reflexive, drawing attention to the musical medium of the prayer, and advertising connections between musicians and heavenly protectors as well as with their potential earthly patrons.

Compere's *Omnium bonorum plena* and Musical Genealogies

In contrast to the documents placing Du Fay's votive prayer motets in the sweet voices of Cambrai's famous choirboys at his deathbed and inscribing

[32] On composer ascriptions and genealogies see Higgins, "Musical 'Parents' and Their 'Progeny'" and "Lamenting 'Our Master and Good Father.'" It seems that musicians' motets from the *ars subtilior* were doing similar cultural work, but they fall outside the scope of this study.

[33] C. Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai." Upton, *Music and Performance*, 77–78. While some clerical singers like Du Fay, Binchois, and Malbeque amassed enormous wealth, there also seem to have been a significant number of itinerant musicians, trained in the church but without permanent employment. See Wegman, *Crisis of Music*.

[34] Many entries from the obit books are transcribed by Nosow in Appendix C of his book *Ritual Meanings*. For a list of foundations, compiled by Barbara Haggh from a variety of original documents, see: http://.music.umd.edu/faculty/music_directory/musicology_and_ethnomusicology/barbara_haggh-huglo/barbara_haggh-huglo_webpage. On the importance of praying for souls in the fifteenth century see Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*.

them into the choirbooks of the cathedral (described in Chapter 2), we know very little about the origins of Compere's musicians' motet. Despite the fact that its text lists the names of fourteen musicians and refers to a fifteenth, through the manipulation of the text and music of a famous preexistent chanson by Hayne van Ghizeghem, it cannot be connected to any specific commemoration, major event, or musical institution. Most of the musicians were probably connected at some point to Cambrai, but for some of them this association is very tenuous, and it seems more indicative of a sort of virtual community of the internationally connected musical professionals associated with Compere.[35] It is no accident that Du Fay, as the author of two motets commemorating musical community and as a highly placed cleric with connections to the preeminent musical establishments of Cambrai, Savoy, and the "college of singers" at the Sistine Chapel, was the main subject of Compere's musical prayer for multiple musicians.

Despite the many musicians listed by Compere in the text, his motet has primarily been discussed in a debate about whether the name "Des Pres" should be considered as the first biographical evidence for the famous Josquin Desprez.[36] Although the names of the musicians listed in the text seem to indicate that it was composed in the Burgundian circle and some scholars have argued strongly for a connection to the choir school at Cambrai, the two extant sources for it – TrentC 91 and a Vatican manuscript, VatSP B80 – are of Italian origin and represent an international European repertoire.[37] Adelyn Peck Leverett remarks that the copy in TrentC 91 is "the more authoritative," and demonstrates "a marked facility with details that might have stemmed from experience with the piece in actual performance," implying that it was part of the repertoire in Trent or copied by someone who had sung it regularly.[38] She bases her argument on the regular application of *sigla* for entrances, relatively detailed text

[35] For an excellent survey of this discussion see Rifkin, "*Omnium bonorum plena* Reconsidered," 55–57, in which the author problematizes the associations of this piece with Cambrai and its early evidence of Josquin Desprez.

[36] For an even more recent addition to the discussion see Fallows, *Josquin*, 25–29, in which Fallows argues again for Cambrai, but not a specific gathering, but rather the circle of musicians associated with Du Fay; and also Fallows "Josquin and Trent 91," 205–08, and *Dufay*, 77–78; Finscher, *Loyset Compère*, 14–15; Hamm, "San Pietro B80," 48–49; Montagna, "Caron, Hayne, Compère," 110–15; Strohm, *Rise of European Music*, 479; Wegman, "From Maker to Composer," 471–77; P. Wright, "Paper Evidence."

[37] Reynolds, facsimile of *San Pietro B 80*. Interestingly for this discussion, the VatSP 80 also includes the only extant copy of Dufay's *Ave regina celorum III*, and Busnoys' *In hydraulis* directly follows Compere's motet in TrentC 91.

[38] Leverett, "A Paleographical and Repertorial Study," 116.

underlay in all parts, and a more informative use of flat signs. The differences between the copies are slight however, and it is remarkable that both versions are highly detailed and clear, including significant amounts of text in all voices.[39] Does this perhaps indicate a particular interest in this motet on the part of the scribes, who were almost certainly musicians themselves?[40] Might they have known some of the musicians named in the text? Regardless of the probably unsolvable questions around the identity of some of the individuals named, Compere's musical and textual references to musicians and the careful scribal presentation of the motet in both sources all serve as evidence for the strength of associations within an international community of musicians across different generations.

Like Du Fay's *Ave regina celorum III*, the text of Compere's musicians' motet is a compilation of the standard topics of Marian prayers but also includes unique features. Compere's text is personal (referring to the composer as "me, Loyset Compere" in lines 44–45 of Table 3.3) and also explicitly encompasses the greater community of musicians (see the text "fund prayers to your son for the salvation of singers" in lines 31–32).[41] While Du Fay inserted personal tropes into a preexistent Marian antiphon in his votive antiphon setting, Compere built his prayer for sacred and secular musicians around the textual and musical substance of a polyphonic rondeau by Hayne van Ghizeghem. This love poem (shown in Table 3.4) with references to paradise (see the A section) and service (in the second a) can be read as Marian praise.[42]

The reliance on this famous chanson is signaled in the text in two ways. First, the opening stanzas of each pars begin with a translation of the opening lines of the rondeau into Latin – "De tous biens plaine" becomes "Omnium bonorum plena." This reinforces the sacred connotations of the original chanson. Also, although the tenor voice is provided with the French incipit "De tous biens plaine" in both VatSP 80 and TrentC 91, all

[39] Leverett, "A Paleographical and Repertorial Study"; and Reynolds, facsimile of *San Pietro B 80*.

[40] This brings at least two further musicians into Compere's musical circle of fifteen: the two scribes from two different locations who both exhibit a special interest in the musico-textual entity of Compere's musicians' motet.

[41] For a detailed discussion of the tropes Du Fay inserted into the *Ave regina celorum* antiphon see the section of Chapter 2 entitled "Du Fay's Musical Signature: Signifying the Musical Profession with Solmization Puns."

[42] For sacred interpretations of chansons see Rothenberg, *Flower of Paradise*, "Marian Symbolism of Spring," "The Meaning of Isaac's *Angeli archangeli*"; and Huot, *The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony*.

Table 3.3 Text for Compere, *Omnium bonorum plena*

	PRIMA PARS	
	Omnium bonorum plena	Full of all good things
	virgo parensque serena	serene virgin and mother
	quae sedes super sidera	who sits above the stars
	pulchra prudensque decora.	fair, wise and graceful.
5	Assistens a dextris Patris	Seated at the right hand of the Father
	celi terre plasmatoris	the creator of heaven and earth
	in vestitu de aurato	in golden clothing
	nullius manu formato.	made by no hand.
	Nullus tibi comparari	Surely none can be compared
10	potest certe nec equari	with you, nor equaled,
	cui voce angelica	you to whom by the angelic voice
	dictum est "Ave Maria."	was pronounced "Hail Mary."
	Turbata parum fuisti	You were little troubled
	sed consulta respondisti	but, when asked, replied
15	"ecce ancilla Domini"	"Behold the handmaiden of the Lord"
	sicut refers "fiat mihi."	thus you reply, "let it be done unto me."
	Dulcis fuit responsio	Sweet was this reply
	data celesti nuntio	given to the heavenly herald,
	per quam statim concepisti	by which you at once conceived
20	natum Dei et portasti.	and bore the Son of God.
	Illum nec non peperisti	Not only did you bear him
	et post partum permanisti	but after the birth remained
	virgo pura et nitida	Virgin pure and blooming
	virgoque immaculate.	and Virgin without stain.
	SECUNDA PARS	
25	Omnium bonorum plena	Full of all good things
	peccatorum medicina	cure of sinners
	cuius proprium orare	to whom it is proper to entreat and
	est atque preces fundare.	also to fund prayers.
	Pro miseris peccantibus	For poor sinners
30	a Deo recendentibus	slipping away from God
	funde preces ad filium	fund prayers to your son
	pro salute canentium.	for the salvation of singers.
	Et primo pro G Dufay	And first for G Dufay
	pro que me, mater, exaudi,	for whom, mother, hear me,
35	luna totius musice	moon of all music,
	atque cantorum lumine,	and light of singers.
	pro Jo Dussart, Busnoys, Caron,	For Jo Dussart, Busnoys, Caron
	magistris cantilenarum,	Masters of songs;

Table 3.3 (*cont.*)

	Georget de Brelles, Tinctoris,	Georget de Brelles, Tinctoris
40	cimbalis tui honoris.	with cymbals to your honour.
	Ac Okeghen, Des Pres, Corbet,	And Ockeghem, Des Pres, Corbet,
	Hemart, Faugues et Molinet,	Hemart, Faugues and Molinet,
	atque Regis omnibusque	and Regis and all
	canentibus, simul et me,	who sing: and likewise for me:
45	Loyset Compere orante	Loyset Compere, praying,
	pro magistris pura mente	pure in mind, for the masters,
	quorum memor, virgo vale,	who remember the virgin's greeting,
	semper Gabrielis "Ave."	Gabriel's eternal "Ave."
	Amen.	Amen.

Trans. based on that in Fallows[43]

the voices are underlaid with long segments of the main Latin text, indicating that all the singers were expected to sing the same text.[44] This may have been intended to remind the singers of the identity of the cantus firmus, but it seems that the professional singers capable of singing the piece would probably recognize the melody on their own, without the incipit, considering that it was one of the most popular tunes of the late fifteenth century. Perhaps the more important role of this text was in broadening the audience capable of appreciating the intertextuality of the motet from the notated page alone, and of identifying the main voice responsible for the cantus firmus. Thus, those musical amateurs familiar with the chanson repertoire but who might not recognize the melody at sight could still be alerted to the reference when viewing the score as a written object.

Multiple layers of intertextual references between the music of the preexistent chanson and the newly formed motet bring the creative role of musicians as makers of musical Marian prayers to the attention of careful listeners.[45] Central to the text for the prima pars is a dramatization of the Annunciation of the Virgin from the Gospel of Luke, including the evocation of the words spoken by the Angel Gabriel, "*Ave Maria*," and

[43] Fallows, "Josquin and Trent 91."

[44] See VatSP B80, fol. 27v, available in Reynolds, facsimile of *San Pietro B 80*, and TrentC 91, fol. 33v, viewable on *Trentino Cultura,* web, www.trentinocultura.net.

[45] Considering the popularity of this chanson, which exists in twenty-six different sources and multiple reworkings and arrangements, it is reasonable to assume that any musically literate or musically knowledgeable person in the fifteenth century would have recognized this song. Christoffersen, *Copenhagen Chansonnier and the "Loire Valley,"* web. For an extensive list of pieces that use this chanson see the Appendix A of Meconi, "Art-Song Reworkings," 27–28.

Table 3.4 Text for "De tous biens plaine" from Dijon and Laborde

	Text for original chanson	
A	De tous biens plaine est ma maistresse	So full of all goodness is my mistress
	chascun lui doit tribut d'onneur;	that everybody should pay homage,
B	car assouvye est en valeur	for she is as full of worth
	autant que jamais fut deesse.	as ever was any goddess.
a	En la veant j'ay tel leesse	When I see her, I feel such joy
	que c'est paradi en mon cueur:	that there is paradise in my heart,
A	*De tous biens plaine . . . d'onneur*	*[partial refrain]*
a	Je n'ay cure d'autre richess	I do not care about any other riches
	si non d'estre son serviteur,	than to be her servant.
b	et pource qu'il n'est chois milleur	and because there is no better choice
	et mon mot porteray sans cesse;	I will always carry as my motto;
AB	*De tous biens plaine . . . deesse.*	*[full refrain]*

Trans. by Peter Christoffersen[46]

Mary, "*Ecce ancilla domini . . . fiat mihi*" (shown in quotes in line 12 and lines 15–16 in Table 3.3).[47] The dialogue between the Angel Gabriel and Mary was a standard text in Books of Hours, in the liturgies of many important Marian feasts, and also often appeared as text gilded into paintings of this scene.[48]

Compere highlights both of these quotes from Luke's Gospel by reducing the musical texture to two voices. The angelic greeting of Mary, the *Ave Maria*, is set as an extended duo in *stretto fuga* at the fifth below for superius and contratenor altus.[49] As the research of Peter Schubert on *stretto fuga* has shown, this lively imitative duo relies on a technique that was a prime improvisatory tool for professional musicians.[50] Schubert points out that this technique is among the "*secreti*" that Gioseffo Zarlino enthusiastically revealed in his 1573 edition of *Le istitutioni harmoniche*.

[46] Transcription and translation from Christoffersen, ed., *Copenhagen Chansonnier and the "Loire Valley*," web.

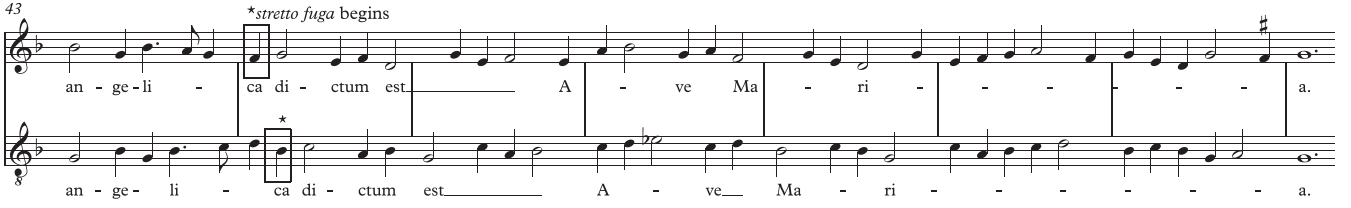
[47] Luke 1:28 – "*Et ingressus angelus ad eam dixit: Ave gratia plena: Dominus tecum: benedicta tu in mulieribus*," or "And the angel being come in, said unto her: Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women"; and Luke 1:38 – "*Dixit autem Maria: Ecce ancilla Domini: fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum. Et discessit ab illa angelus*" or "And Mary said: Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it done to me according to thy word. And the angel departed from her." *Douay-Rheims and Latin Vulgate Online*, web, www.drbo.org.

[48] For an example see the outer wings of Van Eyck's *Adoration of the Lamb*.

[49] The imitation begins on the syllable "di" of "dictum" in m. 44 and only breaks for the cadence in m. 49. See Compere, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Finscher, vol. 4, 33–34.

[50] Schubert, "From Improvisation to Composition: Three 16th-Century Case Studies."

Example 3.1 *Stretto fuga* duo from Compere, *Omnium bonorum plena*, prima pars, superius and altus, m. 43–49



This suggests that previously it had been part of the knowledge that distinguished a musical professional from an amateur. The use of *stretto fuga* for a moment of angelic acclamation calls attention to the performers, the composer, and their elite, shared knowledge of music.

Mary's decorous response to the angel, "*Ecce ancilla Domini . . . fiat mihi*" (see lines 15–16), is also set as an extended duo, but rather than relying on improvisable techniques, this duo highlights the symbolic role of the preexistent chanson. The altus quotes the second phrase of the chanson tenor, which presented the text "*chascun lui doit tribut d'onneur*" or "that everybody should pay homage." As the upper voice of a lengthy section of reduced texture for bassus and altus, this melody is highly audible, reminding the listener of the composer's skill in reworking a chanson. It seems that Compere was symbolically rendering this dramatic moment of conversion between a heavenly angel and an earthly maiden through iconic musical techniques – evoking a miraculous, improvisatory technique for the words of the angel, and a reworking of a written, secular song for the voice of the Virgin.

Gabriel's greeting of Mary, summed up by the word "*Ave*," returns at the end of the motet where it is used explicitly as a symbol for musical Marian prayers, the professional activities that drew singers together. The final stanza of the text (shown in lines 45–48 of Table 3.3) states that with this piece Loyset Compere was "praying, pure in mind, for the masters, who remember the virgin's greeting, Gabriel's eternal 'Ave.'"[51] Indeed, the sheer quantity of music for the Virgin that was composed around 1500 demonstrates that these musicians were regularly focusing their creative energies on magnifying the words of the Angel Gabriel through composed and improvised musical Marian prayer. Compere implies that the musicians on his list are "masters," not just skilled artisans, but literate and educated musicians, creators of written musical works.

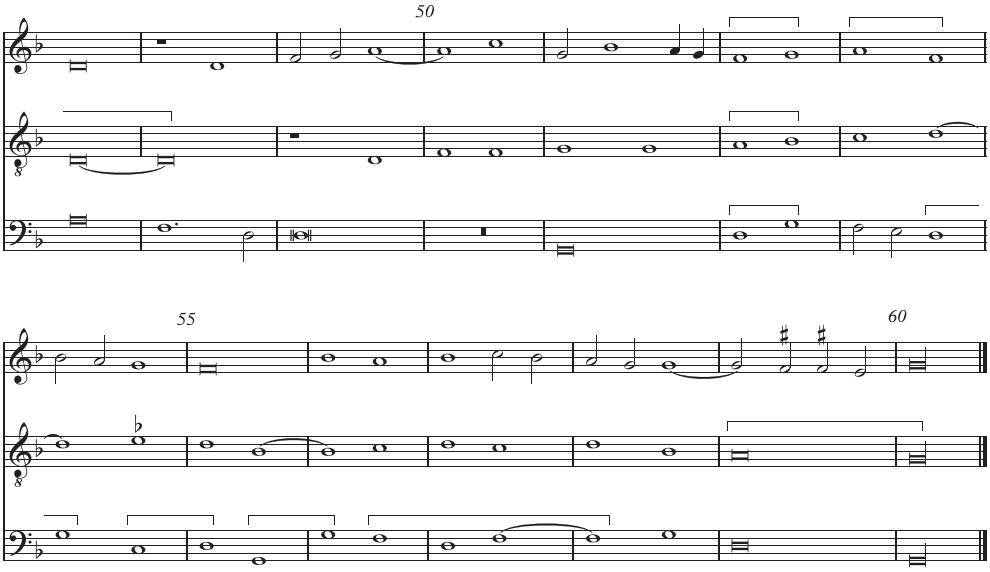
The focus on musical works is confirmed at the end of the motet, where Compere incorporates the entire preexistent three-voice, polyphonic structure of Ghizeghem's *chanson* into his motet. A comparison of the final section of the motet with the end of the *chanson* (see Example 3.2) shows the extensive use of borrowed material in the superius, tenor, and bassus.[52] It is striking that this final segment of the motet, setting a text about remembering, is the only point where all three voices of the original

[51] "*Loyset Compere orante / pro magistris pura mente / quorum memor, virgo vale, / semper Gabrielis 'Ave.'*"

[52] For another discussion of this section of the piece see Rothenberg, *Flower of Paradise*, 169.

Example 3.2 Simultaneous quotation of all three voices of Ghizeghem's chanson in Compere's motet

a Ghizeghem's chanson, mm. 47–30



chanson are quoted simultaneously.[53] In recalling the entire polyphonic complex Compere equated durable musical objects, like sacred Marian compositions created by the masters listed in the motet's text, to the Angel Gabriel's eternal greeting of Mary – the *Ave Maria*.

The text for the secunda pars is well known to musicologists because it contains the famous list of musicians and a disputed reference to Josquin, an aspect that has been thoroughly analyzed by others.[54] What has not been noticed is that Compere opens this pars with two stanzas that each recommend the efficacy of musical prayers to the Virgin. Both stanzas use the construction "*preces fundare*" (see lines 4 and 7 in Table 3.3), which can be translated as "to found (or fund) prayers," with the verb "*fundare*" having the broader meaning of "laying a foundation" or "establishing," in this case probably financially. Translations of this text often take more poetic license, changing it to "offer prayers" or even "pour forth prayers," yet the foundation of musical prayers to the Virgin was of central concern

[53] The various vocal lines from the chanson are quoted at different points throughout the motet, in particular at the beginning of the prima pars where the upper voice is always paraphrasing a phrase of the cantus voice from the chanson until the entrance of the fifth line of text. This section also included another example of *stretto fuga* between the superius and altus, this time on the second phrase of the chanson tenor.

[54] See footnote 36 in this chapter.

Example 3.2 (cont.)
b Compere's motet, mm. 183–191

183
quo rum me - mor Vir - - go va -
te, quo - rum me - mor Vir - go va - le
te, quo - rum me - - mor Vir -
te, quo - rum me - mor

186
- le sem - per Ga - bri - e - lis A - ve. A - men.
sem - per Ga - bri - e - lis A - ve. A - men.
- go va - le sem - per Ga - bri - e - lis A - ve. A - men.
Vir - go va - le sem - per Ga - bri - e - lis A - ve. A - men.

for musicians, the explicit subjects of this motet. Funding prayers not only benefited the souls of those musicians mentioned in the text when trapped in Purgatory or on the Day of Judgment, but also ensured the health of their pocketbooks during their lifetime. As clerics, much of their income came from endowments, especially those specifying musical elements and specialized personnel. The second stanza goes on to refer to the musical nature of these prayers by imploring Mary to aid in "the salvation of singers" (see lines 31–32), probably referring directly to those listed in the text and those in the act of singing the motet, but also including the corporate body of musicians.

The third stanza of the secunda pars presents Du Fay in the role of teacher or musical father to the list of musicians that follows.[55]

[55] Fallows argues that they are all composers; "Josquin and Trent 91," 206. Rifkin disagrees and also calls into question the traditional connection between this piece and Cambrai. "*Omnium bonorum plena* Reconsidered," 64.

Table 3.5 Composers named in Compere, *Omnium bonorum plena*, secunda pars, lines 9–24

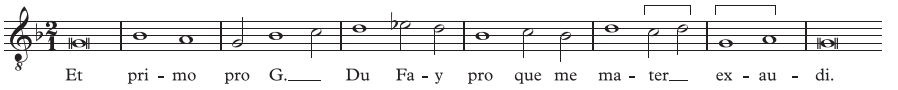
	Et primo pro G Dufay	And first for G Dufay
10	pro que me, mater, exaudi,	for whom, mother, hear me,
	luna totius musice	moon of all music,
	atque cantorum lumine,	and light of singers.
	pro Jo Dussart, Busnoys, Caron,	For Jo Dussart, Busnoys, Caron
	magistris cantilenarum,	Masters of songs;
15	Georget de Brelles, Tinctoris,	Georget de Brelles, Tinctoris
	cimbalis tui honoris.	with cymbals to your honour.
	ac Okeghen, Des Pres, Corbet,	And Ockeghem, Des Pres, Corbet,
	Hemart, Faugues et Molinet,	Hemart, Faugues and Molinet,
	atque Regis omnibusque	and Regis and all
20	canentibus, simul et me,	who sing: and likewise for me:
	Loyset Compere orante	Loyset Compere, praying,
	pro magistris pura mente	pure in mind, for the masters,
	quorum memor, virgo vale,	who remember the virgin's greeting,
	semper Gabrielis "Ave."	Gabriel's eternal "Ave."
	Amen.	Amen.[56]

Interestingly, although Compere begins the secunda pars with the chanson tune in the tenor he abandons it after the first phrase and composes free material or provides rests for the tenor until the beginning of the list of musicians. The reentry of the cantus firmus melody at this point marks the beginning of a gapped presentation of the entire chanson tenor, which concludes the motet.[57] It is slightly unclear if Du Fay himself is to be understood as the "moon of all music and the light of singers," or if that praise was intended for the Virgin Mary herself. Either way, Du Fay is given pride of place because he is listed first and separated from the others in the text; he is the only musician from the previous generation, and his name marks the entrance of the final cursus of the preexistent cantus firmus. In addition, Compere exploits the association of the prominent e♭ fa of the opening gesture of the chanson tenor with Du Fay's musical signature from documents and his personal prayer motet. As was discussed in Chapter 2, there is musical and orthographic evidence that Du Fay had a personal

[56] Fallows, "Josquin and Trent 91."

[57] This is also the only statement of the chanson tenor in its original form, since the prima pars presents the original notation, but alters it by imposing a triple mensuration onto it, thus altering the sounding values.

Example 3.3 Tenor with possible text underlay for secunda pars, third stanza



association with the solmization syllable "*fa*."[58] The e♭ *fa* is the high point of the first phrase of Ghizeghem's chanson tenor. The lowering of the e♮ by a semitone is necessary because of the ascent from b♭, and the flat sign is also clearly marked in both sources for the motet. This phrase has already been heard three times in the motet, and the chanson was extremely well known in the fifteenth century.[59] Example 3.3 transcribes the motet tenor at the beginning of the stanza commemorating Du Fay, following the notation in VatSP 80 and providing the initial "G" with two notes.

The use of an abbreviation in the poem makes the proper alignment of text and music a little unclear, but if this text setting is used the syllables "fa" and "y" of "Fay" are set to the notes e♭ and d, which could have been sung to the solmization syllables "*fa*" and "*mi*." This recalls the prominent "*fa-mi*" motto in the personal tropes of Du Fay's *Ave regina celorum III*, in particular that of the second personal trope (shown in Example 2.3).[60] As discussed in Chapter 2, each e♭ *fa* in Du Fay's personal tropes comes on the first syllable of the word "*miserere*," so while Du Fay was alluding to the dual status of B as both "*fa*" and "*mi*" with his text placement, Compere seems to be trying to explicitly align the vowels of Du Fay's last name with a parallel melodic figure, highlighting that figure's special associations with solmization practice and with Du Fay's own signature.[61] In his tribute to Du Fay, Compere relies on the association of "*fa-mi*" that Du Fay established though his inclusion of musical notation into his signature and funeral monument, as well as through the musical material of the personal tropes in his setting of the *Ave regina celorum III*.[62]

[58] His signatures and funeral monument include the notation for C *fa* instead of the syllable "*fa*" of his name. Also, his *Ave regina celorum III* exploited the plaintive high e♭ *fa* in the two sections setting personal tropes, and the second of these was inserted into his *Missa Ave regina celorum*, replacing a previous, less personal version.

[59] Twice in the tenor and also in the altus at the very beginning of the motet. On its popularity see footnote 46.

[60] Du Fay's signature is discussed in detail in Chapter 2, in the section "Du Fay's Musical Signature: Signifying the Musical Profession with Solmization Puns." *Soggetto cavato* is explained in Zarlino, *Istitutioni harmoniche (Venezia, 1561)*.

[61] It is even possible that this prominent e♭, coupled with a plausible Marian connection, explains the somewhat puzzling choice of a chanson by van Ghizeghem in a motet that placed Du Fay in pride of place.

[62] As noted in Chapter 2, it is possible that this section was recomposed by somebody other than Du Fay, but either way this inclusion of "*fa-mi*" shows that this music, highly inflected with flats, was strongly associated with Du Fay's name and signature.

Compere's alignment of the e♭ to d or "*fa-mi*" melodic motion of van Ghizeghem's tenor phrase with the syllables of Du Fay's name, a musical signifier for Du Fay, could be seen as a remarkable act of musical homage to a notable figure of the previous generation. Considering that the first gathering of VatSP 80 also included both Dufay's *Ave regina celorum III* and the Mass based on it, it seems likely that these three pieces were understood to be related to each other and that Du Fay's musical signature would also have had meaning for professional musicians outside a direct Burgundian orbit. Like the membership lists of confraternal groups, Compere's motet presents a list of the names of specific members of the musical community and asks the Virgin Mary to aid them. Through musical and textual references to their activities, both notated creations and improvisations, and to their worthy place in a tradition of professionals engaged in musical prayer, Compere highlights both their collective worthiness and their individual mastery of their craft.

Presentation of Names in Two Motets by Busnoys: *In hydraulis* and *Anthoni usque limina*

Self-promotion and naming are central to two well-known motets by Busnoys, one of which, *In hydraulis*, directly follows Compere's *Omnium bonorum plena* in TrentC 91. In her introduction to a collection of essays dedicated to Busnoys, Paula Higgins comments that in his motets *Anthoni usque limina* and *In hydraulis* Busnoys betrays "an overweening concern with constructing himself as an *auctor*."[63] She also notes Busnoys' interest in establishing a "creative genealogy and signs of an absolute past" as well as his "description of himself as the metaphorical 'son' of a composer [Ockeghem] he allegorizes as the most gifted musician in Greek mythology."[64] While he was certainly bolder than Compere, his rough contemporary, in his use of these tropes, the previous discussion has shown that Busnoys was not alone in his foregrounding of concepts of creative genealogy and using names in his compositions as a way of constructing his public professional profile.[65] Although the desire to understand these works as intimate glimpses into the mentality of a particularly interesting fifteenth-century musician is seductive, it may be more productive to view these two self-referential motets as extreme examples of a broader trend,

[63] Higgins, "Celebrating Transgression and Excess," 3.

[64] For more on creative genealogy see Higgins, "Musical 'Parents' and Their 'Progeny'" and "Lamenting 'Our Master and Good Father.'"

[65] As Elizabeth Eva Leach has pointed out, Machaut was doing something similar in the mid-fourteenth century. See *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician*.

including the promotion of the corporate body of professional composers through their musical creations and an evocation of continuity with antiquity.

The text of *In hydraulis* has been used by Paula Higgins to establish the timeline for Busnoys' service to the Burgundian court, since it clearly refers to Charles as the "Count of Charolais," and not yet as Duke of Burgundy (see lines 16–17 in Table 3.7).[66] Although this text seems rather corrupt, written out separate from the music in two paragraphs on fol. 28v of MunSB 3154, this laudatory poem is generally considered to be by Busnoys himself. It reflects his personal taste for the antique and for classicizing complexity.[67]

Like Rogier van der Weyden's depiction of St. Luke in the act of sketching the Virgin and Child, the prima pars is concerned with establishing a historic event that provides legitimacy to contemporary musical professionals and practices. Pythagoras, a recognized authority on music and number, is described in the act of observation and discovery (see lines 1–4). Busnoys carefully presents the Greek names for the mathematical ratios before labeling the appropriate musical intervals (see lines 6–9). Finally, he

Table 3.6 Text of Busnoys, *In hydraulis*, prima pars

1	In hydraulis quondam Pithagora	Long ago, when Pythagoras was
	Admirante melos pthongitates	speculating about the tones in water organs
	Malleorum secutus equora	and the sounds of the hammers against surfaces,
	Per ponderum inequalitates,	he discovered through the inequalities of the weights,
5	Adinvenit muse quiditates.	the essential natures of the muse [music].
	Epitritum ac **hemioliam**,	They [the differences between the weights of anvils in the blacksmith's shop] induce **epitritus** (4:3) and also **hemiola** (3:2),
	Epogdoi et **duplam** perducunt	**epogdous** (9:8) and even **duple** (2:1),
	Nam **tessaron pente** concordiam	for they lead not only to the concordant **4th** and **5th**,
	Nec non **phtongum** et **pason** adducunt	and also to the **tone** and **octave** as long as they [the
10	Monocordi dum genus conducunt.	differences] arrange the division of the monochord.

Trans. adapted from van Benthem and Howlett[68]

[66] Higgins, "*In hydraulis* Revisited"; Higgins, "Antoine Busnoys and Musical Culture." For other discussions see Howlett, "Busnois' Motet *In hydraulis*"; Higgins, "Lamenting 'Our Master and Good Father.'" In particular in relation to Ockeghem's *Ut heremita solus* see van Benthem, "Text, Tone, and Symbol," and Lindmayr-Brandl, "The Case of *Ut heremitas solus* Reconsidered."

[67] Blackburn and Holford-Strevens, "Juno's Four Grievances."

[68] Van Benthem, "Text, Tone, and Symbol"; and Howlett, "Busnois' Motet *In hydraulis*."

transfers the sounds of water organs and hammers to a didactic musical instrument, the monochord, which was used in the fifteenth century.[69] These theoretical concepts, exposed in the text, are translated into sound in the constructed tenor and other musical voices, the implications of which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Having established the historical validity of musical practice, in the secunda pars Busnoys turns to praises of the foremost modern musical practitioner, Ockeghem. As the "chief singer," Ockeghem is shown to be both servant and musical equivalent of the King of France, while Busnoys humbly takes the subservient role of student and subject of the Count of Charolais and the future Duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold.[70] The musical works of Busnoys, including this very motet, are presented as "*practicum tue propaginis*" or "the practice of your progeny," and Busnoys submits them to Ockeghem, as distinct musical objects, for evaluation and improvement (see lines 13–14).[71] Ockeghem is hailed with both Christian – a "trope-uttering

Table 3.7 Text of Busnoys, *In hydraulis*, secunda pars

11	Hec Oggeghen, cunctis qui precinis	You Ockeghem, who are chief singer before all
	Galliarum in regis latria,	in the service of the King of the Gauls,
	O practicum tue propaginis	O strengthen the practice of your progeny,
	Arma cernens quondam per atria	when, at some time, you examine these matters
15	Burgundie ducis in patria.	on occasion in the halls of the Duke of Burgundy, in your fatherland.
	Per me, Busnois, illustris comitis	Through me, Busnoys, unworthy musician
	De Charulois indignum musicum,	of the illustrious Count of Charolais,
	Saluteris tuis pro meritis	may you be greeted for your merits
	Tamquam summam Cephas tropidicum:	as the highest trope-uttering Cephas;
20	Vale, verum instar Orpheicum.	Hail, true image of Orpheus.

Trans. adapted from van Benthem and Howlett[72]

[69] Voss, "Musical Magic of Marsilio Ficino," 238–39.

[70] Van Benthem, "Text, Tone, and Symbol"; and Howlett, "Busnois' Motet *In hydraulis*."

[71] The implication of placing the Duke into a slightly subservient role might explain why this motet was not included in BrusBR 5557, a manuscript that was clearly used by Charles the Bold.

[72] Does this imply that this motet was sent as a gift to an absent Ockeghem, as a physical object representing the sounding practice of Busnoys and his fellow musicians employed by Charles? A presentation copy of this piece could have served as an invitation for Ockeghem to return to his homeland. During his visit he would be able to evaluate and improve the practice of his former student, in a sort of late medieval master class or singing school.

Cephas" – and classical – an "image of Orpheus" – distinctions, as well as being honored for bringing together the ancient practice of Greek musicians with the sacred traditions of the Church.[73]

The text of *Anthoni usque limina* was also probably written by Busnoys and is notable both for including the composer's name and for mixing Christian and classical symbols in a particularly bold way. In it there are two meta-references to singers. The final line of the prima pars refers to the act of gathering together to sing this motet (line 8), and then in the secunda pars the author asks that this choir be "saved from the mire of Orcus" (line 11). "Orcus" in this context is equivalent to "Hell" and is not the only classical word that is substituted for more conventional Christian equivalents. Anthony, the Egyptian hermit who is considered the founder of ascetic monasticism, is asked to protect the singers from

Table 3.8 Text of *Anthoni usque limina* from BrusBR 5557

	PRIMA PARS	
	ANTHONI USque limina	Anthony, you who to the furthest bounds
	orbis terrarumque maris	of land and sea
	et ultra qui vocitaris	and beyond call down
	providentia divina	wisdom from on high;
5	qui domonum agmina	you who most powerfully have overcome
	superasti viriliter	whole hosts of demons,
	audi cetum nunc omina	hear us now, who have come together
	psalentem tua dulciter.	**sweetly to sing your praises**.
	SECUNDA PARS	
	Et ne post hoc ecilium	And lest, after this exile,
10	nos igneus urat Pluto	fiery Pluto consume us,
	Hunc ab Orci **chorum** luto	snatching this **chorus** from the mire of Orcus,
	eruens fer auxilium	bring your aid,
	porriga refrigerium	let the coolness extend to your limbs,
	artubus gracie Moys	through the blessing of water,
15	ut per verbi misterium	that, by the mystery of the Word,
	fiat in omniBUS NOYS	understanding may come to all.

Trans. from Taruskin.[74]

[73] Van Benthem, "Text, Tone, and Symbol." The name "Cephas" is found in the Bible and seems to be Aramaic for Peter; it is the name used for Simon Peter by Jesus in John 1:42. It is also a term that is found in the letters of Paul, notably 1 Corinthians 1:12 – "Now this I say, that every one of you saith: I indeed am of Paul; and I am of Apollo; and I am of Cephas; and I of Christ."

[74] *Collected Works*, ed. Taruskin, vol. 2, 65.

the "fires of Pluto" rather than the Devil. In addition, the very use of the words "*noys*" and "*moys*" implies an arcane vocabulary and reliance on Greek and Coptic.[75]

In the unique source, BrusBR 5557, the letters from the initial and final phrases of the text stand out from the rest of the motet in red ink, spelling the composer's name – "ANTHONI US" at the beginning and "BUS NOYS" at the end.[76] Since BrusBR 5557 was compiled and in use during the tenure of Busnoys at Charles' court, Busnoys probably at least sang from this copy of the motet, and perhaps he himself copied it into the space available between two sections of this fascicle manuscript.[77] Busnoys is clearly drawing attention to himself and his learnedness through the text and orthography of the motet, but like Du Fay and Compere, Busnoys makes provisions for the welfare of his own soul. His acrostic places him within the context of the musical community he calls upon in the text. Busnoys evokes the power of knowledge ("*providentia*," line 4) and understanding ("*noys*," line 16) as divine gifts and tools for salvation. Thus, through a classical heritage expressed within fifteenth-century Christian practices, Busnoys asks his name saint, St. Anthony, to "bring your aid . . . that understanding may come to all" (lines 14–16) on behalf of those "who have come together sweetly to sing your praises" (lines 7–8).

One of the main activities of guilds and confraternities was to retain the names of deceased members in their records and include them in regularly recurring memorial services, which sometimes took place on a weekly or monthly basis.[78] It is not surprising then that Reinhard Strohm found Busnoys' name on just such a register for a *confraternitas chori* at the church of St-Sauveur in Bruges from *c.* 1510, fifteen to twenty years after his death.[79] Giovanni Zanovello has discovered documents revealing that at the time of his death, Isaac made a large donation to the Confraternity of Santa Barbara in Florence, which was to be used to buy an object to be used by the group in his memory.[80] By banding together as a group, confraternities, and often guilds too, communally provided continual prayer for the souls of deceased members

[75] For a discussion of "*moys*" and its association with music see Swerdlow, "*Musica dicitur a moys*."

[76] Wegman, "For Whom the Bell Tolls"; Wegman, "*Anthoni usque limina* and the Order of Saint-Anthoine-en-Barbefosse."

[77] It is especially compelling to think of Busnoys as the compiler and copyist because his pieces often bridge the gap between older fascicles and are in a different script. See Wegman's introduction to the facsimile edition of *Choirbook of the Burgundian Court Chapel: Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Ms. 5557*.

[78] Banker, *Death in the Community*.

[79] Cited in Higgins, "*In hydraulis* Revisited," ft. 74, 53; and also in her entry on Busnoys in *Grove*.

[80] In the end they decided to use the donation to buy a funeral pall to cover the coffins of members; hence, it was central to what was perhaps their main ritual. Zanovello used the records of this

who were believed to be in Purgatory, awaiting judgment. Privileges such as these were otherwise reserved for those wealthy enough to fund individual endowments.[81] Although few musicians accumulated the kind of wealth that is recorded in the wills of Binchois and Du Fay, both of whom were musicians who funded their own memorials, it seems clear that death and the welfare of one's soul was a common concern for rich and poor alike, musicians included.[82]

Professional and spiritual concerns were often combined in the fifteenth century, especially since there was often significant overlap between guilds and confraternities. In Rogier van der Weyden's painting of St. Luke, by assuming the prayer stance and guise of the saint, Rogier places himself in a position of eternal adoration, a state that will be witnessed in perpetuity by his fellows. Du Fay endowed services and composed personal works, thereby both creating a continual source of income for musicians and ensuring that he would be remembered after his death through his musical works. Compere and Busnoys show a similar concern with linking their own names with their professional identity in a way that will ensure that, in these compositions, both their names and authorship will be remembered. While Compere's emphasis on the importance of individual musical creations and corporate bonds contrasts with Busnoys' foregrounding of continuity with classical traditions, both are invested in the promotion of their profession. With these notationally fixed compositions that list the names of musicians and incorporate personal prayer requests within a broader appeal for musicians, these composers ensured that through their musical works, inscribed into ecclesiastical manuscripts for continued performance, their own souls would have a quicker reprieve from purgation because they were assured of being remembered by the living musical community.[83]

Nuts and Bolts: Musical Identity through Professional Concerns

Names of individuals are not the only features that identify a piece as a prayer for musicians. Looking primarily at the texts from a number of

confraternity to establish Isaac's presence in Florence during the early sixteenth century. "Isaac in Florence, 1502–17," 288–93.

[81] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*.

[82] For a transcription of Du Fay's will see Houdoy, *Histoire artistique*, 409–14. The testament of Binchois is preserved in the Archives de l'Etat, Mons, *Chapitre Soignies*, 42.

[83] For a previous discussion of this idea see Blackburn, "For Whom Do the Singers Sing?"

motets that describe musical activities, I will show how their references to some of the nuts and bolts of music-making are significant for an understanding of musical community *c.* 1500.

Identified in the third column of Table 3.9, professional concerns range from prayer requests for singers as a category of laborers (especially when specifying their throats/voices) to descriptions of aspects of their professional activities and gatherings, including communal meals. In addition to the three motets and the motet-chanson that will be discussed in this chapter, there is another famous piece that highlights professional concerns, Josquin's *Illibata dei virgo nutrix*. Since this motet brings together multiple strands of the discussion, including those to be presented in Chapters 5–7, it will be held in reserve as the subject of the conclusion of the book.

Singing by Candlelight in Du Fay's Motet for the Feast of Mary's Purification at Cambrai

Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar / Puerpera, pura parens / Virgo post partum* describes the rituals surrounding the feast of Mary's purification (see Table 2.2). As was discussed in Chapter 2, the motetus of Du Fay's musicians' motet displays an acrostic for the master of the choirboys, and the triplum makes an "implicit" reference to music-making through

Table 3.9 Professional concerns in the texts of musicians' motets

Composer	Title	Textual References to Musical Concerns
Du Fay	*Fulgens iubar / Puerpera, pura parens / Virgo post partum*	– "candles" – "concord" or "harmony"
	Decantemus in hac die	– "let us sing lauds and praises" – "at the altar" – "only hope of musicians, thy devout people" – "be kind and gracious to singers"
Compere	*Sile fragor*	– "hoarse" and "solid voices" – "sweetness of our song" – "equal measures" – "enjoy liberal streams"
Josquin	*Ce povre mendiant / Pauper sum ego*	– "benefice nor office" – "clothes" – "fortune" – "labor"

Table 3.10 From the triplum of *Fulgens iubar*, second half of stanza 3

20	Luce enim qua fulget candela,	For by the light which the candle shines
	Persplendorem vite in Maria	We all signify in harmony
	Concorditer omnes ostendimus,	The complete splendor of life in Mary,
25	Ut per sue tandem precamina	That at length, by her prayers, we
	Sublimemur sanctorum sedibus.	May be raised aloft in the dwellings of the saints.[84]

solmization puns. What has not already been observed is that it also foregrounds the musical activities of the musical community and the written, musical medium of prayer motets by describing the act of singing by candlelight (excerpt of the text shown in Table 3.10).

The symbol of candles is certainly pertinent to the Purification liturgy, since a central action of this feast, also known as Candlemas, was the blessing of candles. Depictions of Mary's purification from the fifteenth century often feature aspects of contemporary churching practices, and candles are central features of this rich visual legacy.[85] The purification or the ritual churching of women after childbirth was a central moment in the lives of many fifteenth-century women, celebrating their successful journey through the treacherous weeks surrounding childbirth. Candles blessed at Candlemas, were used to protect women during their labor and confinement.[86] At the same time, the references to candles in this poem, written specifically as the text for a musical composition, also situate it within ecclesiastical space, where the candles also served to illuminate the medium of this prayer – its written text and music. Lines 20–21 of Table 3.10 shows that the singers are relying on the candle in order to make "harmony" or polyphonic music, whether written or improvised. Thus, candles here served both a ritual and a practical function. Sanctified through Mary's humility they visually heightened the experience of viewing images and icons by reflecting off their often golden and jewel-encrusted surfaces, while also simply allowing the clerics to perform their ritual activities from written texts.[87]

[84] Transcription and translation based on Holford-Strevens, "Du Fay the Poet?", 145.

[85] The best-known example of this tradition is the illustration of the Purification from the *Les très riches heures du Duc de Berry*, Musée Condé.

[86] Rieder, *On the Purification of Women*.

[87] One source on the material aspects of devotional painting is Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*. Blessed candles also extended the sacred space of the church into secular spaces, as they were present during childbirth itself. See Musacchio, *Art and Ritual of Childbirth*.

Entries for endowed services regularly provide instructions for the amount of money to be spent on candles and also for their specific placement, honoring saints pertinent to the occasion and setting the scene, so to speak.[88] But the structure of endowments also makes it clear that candles served the practical purpose of providing light for the reading of prayers and music from manuscripts, since the specific chants to be sung are regularly listed directly after the instructions for the candles. For example, the entry in the Cambrai obit book for the augmentation of the Feasts of St. Simon and St. Jude provides for four candles. One of these candles is specifically intended to illuminate a manuscript containing a hymn and motet: "two candles before the crucifix and one [candle] before the image of Blessed Mary on the door of the choir, and one [candle] *for the hymn and motet* performed at Vespers."[89] Since Vespers was an evening service, it is logical that a candle would be a necessary aid for performance of a notated hymn and motet. Although often the liturgical chants listed were extremely common and may have been memorized, many of the foundations were for new feasts, some of which had newly composed chants (by Du Fay among others), so it is likely that these new liturgical items might not have been well known to most of the clerical singers, increasing their reliance on reading from manuscripts even for chant.[90] The light of the candles, generally understood in the Purification service to represent the light of Christ born of Mary, also illuminated the church so as to allow the performance of chant-based "harmony" or fully notated polyphony like Du Fay's motet.[91]

An Anonymous Musicians' Motet on the International Market

One motet, uniquely preserved in Petrucci's *Motetti libro quarto* (Venice, 1505), provides a prime example of music for musicians, and yet, unlike the motets by Du Fay, Compere, and Busnoys, it is entirely devoid of names,

[88] Appendix C of Nosow, *Ritual Meanings*, 244–50.

[89] For transcriptions of this and other examples from the obit books for Cambrai (Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, fonds ancien B 39 and Lille, Archive départementales du Nord, 4G 2009) see Appendix C of Nosow, *Ritual Meanings*, 244–50.

[90] Haggh, "Evolution of the Liturgy at Cambrai Cathedral" and "The *Officium* of the *Recollectio festorum beata Marie virginis* by Gilles Carlier and Guillaume Du Fay."

[91] In ceremonies for the ritual purification of women, or churching after childbirth, the candle was similarly used to represent the new life of the child who had been born. In some cases, women who experienced stillbirths or whose baby had died would carry an unlit candle to their churching. Rieder, *On the Purification of Women*, 29. For more on music and churching see my chapter in Ditchfield and Smith, eds, *Conversions: Gender and Religious Change in Early Modern Europe*.

even lacking a composer attribution, which hence leaves it disconnected from any specific associations with individuals.[92] Instead this motet is a generic prayer for musicians, identifying Mary as their patron saint and highlighting the importance of music as a vehicle for prayer. The first word, "*decantemus*" or "let us sing," reveals the musical focus of the following piece. The text is a fairly standard prayer to the Virgin and describes ritual actions within an ecclesiastical space, consistently using the first-person plural to refer to a group of musical clerics performing the motet, a group that could change depending on where and when it was performed. Like the triplum of Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar*, the last line of the prima pars situates this piece within the sacred space of a church, perhaps at a special Marian altar (line 17 of Table 3.11).[93] As in Compere's *Omnium bonorum plena* and Josquin's *Illibata dei virgo nutrix*, the anonymous author reiterates the angelic greeting, or "*Ave*" at the end of the first stanza (see line 6 of Table 3.11), presumably as an example of the ideal prayer.[94] If there were any remaining ambiguity about the musical focus of the piece, the final phrase of the secunda pars (shown at the bottom of Table 3.11) affirms its focus as a prayer for "singers." Mary is described as the "only hope of musicians." Interestingly this phrase, "*spes unica musicorum*," is set as a point of imitation, presenting the ascending soft hexachord in all four voices as a motive.

Petrucci's inclusion of this motet in the fourth book of his series of motet anthologies indicates not only that he perceived the existence of an international market for musical prayers for musicians but also that, regardless of its original performance context, after 1505 this generic, anonymous motet for musicians was available in print to a broad swath of musically literate consumers. The lack of an ascription to a famous composer shows that it was the subject and musical content that made it attractive enough to garner it a place in Petrucci's large collection of motets, music that was intended to be consumed by a general market across Europe.[95] This market certainly included professional musicians, looking for repertoire appropriate for the institutions they served, but also for their own musical, professional, and spiritual gatherings. It is probably not a coincidence

[92] For a transcription of this piece see Sherr, "*Motetti libro quarto*" *(Venice, 1505)*.

[93] The text "*Inter spinas flos fuisti*" is also used in a bicinia of Antoine Barbe preserved in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Musica MS 260. Although bits of the text occur in various other texts, the connection with Barbe's bicinia is the most significant. Bellingham, *Sixteenth-Century Bicinia*. Another important quote is the "*Salve sancta Christi parens*" and "*Decantemus in hac die*" which are both borrowed from Marian sequences.

[94] The text of Josquin's musicians' motet is discussed in the Conclusion of this book.

[95] Cumming, "Petrucci's Publics."

Table 3.11 Text for the anonymous motet *Decantemus in hac die*

	PRIMA PARS	
	Decantemus in hac die	Let us sing, on this day,
	semper virgini Marie	lauds and praises
	laudes et preconia.	to Mary, the eternal Virgin!
	Salvatoris mater pia	Loving mother of the
5	mundi huius spes Maria:	Savior and hope of the world,
	Ave, plena gratia.	"Ave, full of grace."
	Letare virgo nobilis	Be glad noble virgin,
	Die mater amabilis	made a fruitful mother
	fecundata mirifice.	through the miracle of God.
10	Per cunctis venerabilis	Although venerated by all,
	concepisti ut humilis	you conceived as a humble maiden
	ancilla Christo iudice.	as Christ so judged.
	Inter spinas flos fuisti	You were the lily among thorns
15	sic flos flori patuisti	such that you bloomed as a flower of flowers,
	compassionis gratia.	graciously bestowing compassion.
	tibi cordis in altari	To thee should we offer
	decet laudes immolari	praises from our hearts at the altar,
	o virgo sacratissima.	O most holy virgin.
	SECUNDA PARS	
Salve sancta Christi parens,		Hail holy Mother of Christ,
Salve virgo labe carens,		Hail virgin without blemish,
Salve decus virginum, per te iustis gratia datur et letitia.		Hail glory of virgins, through you the righteous find grace and rejoicing.
Tu nostrum refugium: da reis remedium procul pele vitia, mater pura.		You are our refuge: give us a remedy for our sins, cast far away our moral infirmities, o pure mother.
Peccatorum advocata, o Maria, candens flos lilii reduc nos ad pii dexteram filii.		Advocate of sinners, O Mary, shining bloom of the lily, bring us back to the right hand of the dutiful son.
O regina virgo, dei throno digna, spes unica musicorum devote plebi cantorum esto clemens et benigna.		O virgin Queen, worthy of the throne of God, only hope of musicians, thy devout people, be kind and gracious to singers.

Trans. by Jane Hatter and Lars Lih

that the phrase "*spes unica musicorum*" is set to a motto defining the ascending soft hexachord, a highly charged symbol of fifteenth-century music theory and of the musical profession.[96]

[96] The hexachord will be the subject of Chapter 7.

Liberal Streams, Rough Throats, and Singers' Anxiety in Compere's *Sile fragor*

For a singer, professional concerns are often intimately connected with performance anxiety and care of the physical, vocal apparatus.[97] This anxiety is mentioned in the text of two other musicians' motets, Compere's *Sile fragor* and Josquin's *Illibata dei virgo nutrix*, both of which petition the Virgin Mary for aid in offering musical prayers. As a somewhat mysterious, hidden instrument, arising from within the body of a person, the music of the human voice enjoyed a special, elevated status in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance, whether it was used for performance of sacred plainchant or Ficino's Neoplatonic singing of Greek hymns.[98]

The text of *Sile fragor* refers to singing (*psallere*) in line 3 of Table 3.12, and places this singing squarely in ecclesiastical space in line 5, "when the church reverberates with the sweetness of our song," but like that of *Decantemus in hac die*, lacks references to any individual.[99] In the first two lines of his motet, shown in Table 3.12, the author, possibly Compere, calls for silence and asks anxiety (*pavor*) to flee. Anxiety is described as something that gasps, "hoarse in the chest," an impediment to successful performance. In line 6, the author affirms the importance of good vocal production in musical prayer by describing an ideal performance as one using "solid voices" (*voces solide*). Musical prayer itself, as the "heart of our voices" (*vocum precordia nostra*), is offered directly to the Virgin in line 7 where she is asked to pour it, like a liquid, back to her son.

Liquid is a central feature in this text, both as the form of potent musical prayers, which eventually flow as wine in the fountain of Bacchus, but also in the humble waters of Lympha, which are instructed to depart.[100] This seems to be a classical recasting of the story of the wedding at Cana, where Christ turns water into wine, allowing all the guests to enjoy "liberal streams."[101] In Compere's motet the sacred wine of Christ replaces the

[97] In my experience singers are often notable for the size of their water bottles and elaborate use of scarves.

[98] Ficino argued for the magical power of music and in particular of song when performed under the right circumstances. See Voss, "Musical Magic of Marsilio Ficino," 240.

[99] Blackburn, "Petrucci's Venetian Editor," 35–36; and Houghton, "Compere's Motet *Sile fragor*."

[100] *Lympha* is a Latin term for a water nymph. Morwood, ed., *Pocket Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Perhaps unrelatedly, there is also a reference to "*lymphae*" in a hymn for second Vespers of the Apparition of the BVM Immaculate or Our Lady of Lourdes, celebrated on February 11. See the *Antiphonale Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae pro Diurnis Horis* (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1912), 543–44.

[101] The story of the wedding at Cana is from John 2:1–12.

Table 3.12 Text for Compere, *Sile fragor*

	PRIMA PARS	
	Sile fragor ac rerum tumultus:	Be still, noise and tumult of the world;
	fuge pavor qui pectore raucus anelas.	flee, anxiety which gasps hoarse in the chest.
	Psallere nos sine et nostros equare modos.	Allow us to sing in the ritual and to make our measures equal.
	Urget amore Muse, opprimens jurgia ire,	Love of the Muse calls, subduing the quarrels of wrath,
5	cum ecclesia resonant dulcore carminis nostri	when the church reverberates with the sweetness of our song
	et voces solide audiencium aures demulcent.	and solid voices charm the ears of the listeners.
	SECUNDA PARS	
	Suscipe deitatis mater vocum precordia nostra,	Accept, mother of the deity, the heart of our voices,
	et nato refunde vota que psallimus omnes:	and pour back to your son the vows that we all sing in the ritual:
	"Nunc fontem adire decet quo Bachus insedet ipse:	"Now it is fitting to approach the fountain where Bacchus himself is seated;
10	et discedat Limpha liberos dum carpimus rivos." Amen.	and let water depart, while we enjoy liberal streams." Amen.
	[Alternate text for lines 9–10 from *Motetti A*:]	
	"Tu sacrum templum, tu fons uberrimus ille es	"You [are] the holy temple, you are the most plentiful fountain
10	cuius inexhaustam detrahit unda sitim."	whose water takes away the unquenched thirst."

Trans. by Jeffrey Dean[102]

simple, inferior water of antiquity. If this piece is understood as music appropriate for a gathering of musicians, like a confraternity or guild, the metaphorical "liberal streams" of Christ's sacrifice could easily have led to the liberal distribution of wine at a communal meal. Some of Rob Wegman's prime pieces of evidence for gatherings of musicians in guild-like settings come from records for the distribution of wine intended for these gatherings.[103] It seems

[102] The text for this motet, with its alternate final couplets, was the topic of a paper given by Jeffrey Dean at the RSA in San Diego in 2013. The handout that he provided is the source for the transcription and translation.

[103] For more on this see Wegman, "Ockeghem, Josquin and Brumel" and "From Maker to Composer." On connections between wine and music-making more generally see Coeurdevey, "La célébration du vin dans la chanson polyphonique."

that the more famous the guest, the higher the quality of the wine, thus requiring notation in a register of special expenses.

Compere's *Sile fragor* brings concerns about optimizing the human voice for prayer together with the appropriation of classical themes for a Christian ceremony. Like Busnoys, Compere is clearly interested in using aspects of Greek culture and classical learning to justify music in a Christian context, and includes multiple classical references. In line 4, "love of the Muse" (*urget amor muse*), must stand for music, which calls together individuals, calming their quarrels and enticing them to work together as an ensemble in order to "charm the ears of the listeners" (*audiencium aures demulcent*). In this case, the audience is clearly heavenly, primarily represented by Mary, who passes the musicians' prayer on to Bacchus/Christ.[104] The idea of Bacchus as Christ was not new in the late fifteenth century, but was clearly controversial enough for the editor of Petrucci's *Motetti A* to provide an alternate version, expunging Bacchus and Lympha, and reaffirming the sacred nature of the performance space. As I will discuss in Chapters 6 and 7, this Christian appropriation of Greek and Latin culture was also an important trend in music-theory treatises during the decades around 1500.[105]

Money Matters in Josquin's *Ce povre mendiant / Pauper sum ego*

Money and financial stability are the central concerns of Josquin's three-voice *Ce povre mendiant / Pauper sum ego*. This short, unique composition is preserved in three different sources from roughly the same area – the Basevi Codex (FlorC 2439), copied in Brussels or Mechelen, and a mixed songbook copied in Bruges that belonged to Jérôme Lauweryn, a court official in the Netherlands (LonBL 35087), both of which were compiled *c.* 1505–10; and the slightly later chansonnier of Margaret of Austria (BrusBR 228) from *c.* 1516–23.[106] Each of these seemingly closely related sources, all coming from the Hapsburg orbit of influence in the first decades of the

[104] H. David Brumble lists the *Ovidius Moralizatus* and Phillipe de Vitry's *Ovide Moralisé* as a late medieval source for the idea of Bacchus as Christ. *Classical Myths and Legends in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, 49. Philippe Morel was also kind enough to respond to my questions via email regarding his then-forthcoming study on the connection between Bacchus and Christ in Renaissance culture. *Renaissance dionysiaque: Inspiration bachique, imaginaire du vin et de la vigne dans l'art européen (1430–1630).*

[105] It may therefore be no accident that "*fuge pavor*" (line 2 of Table 3.12) is set to a pair of complementary tetrachords in the superius and tenor voices, which fill out the entire soft hexachord. See Stefano Mengozzi's discussion of the term "hexachord" as a Christianization of the Greek tetrachord in *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory*.

[106] Information on these sources is from the *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550* (1979–88), made available on DIAMM, http://diamm.ac.uk.

sixteenth century, presents a different combination of texts and text fragments, which are displayed in Table 3.13. All three sources share some version of the Latin text "*Pauper sum ego*" or "I am a pauper," but only the Basevi Codex expands this quote to confirm its reliance on a biblical source. This short phrase maps nicely on to the six-note repeating motto in the bassus, which is based on the cadence formula for Psalms in the eighth mode.[107] In contrast to the Latin in the bassus, the Basevi Codex has a fragment of French text in the top two lines, and the same voices in the chansonnier of Margaret of Austria (BrusBR 228) are given a longer French text that is entirely different. This combination of languages has earned this piece the generic label motet-chanson.

The implications of combining this constructed cantus firmus with the different fragments of text in the various sources for this motet-chanson

Table 3.13 Texts from all sources for Josquin, *Ce povre mendiant / Pauper sum ego*

Basevi Codex: FlorC 2439 (Brussels or Mechelen, *c.* 1505–10)	
Superius and Tenor:[108]	
Fortune d'estrange plummaige.	Fortune with strange plumage.
Bassus:	
Pauper sum ego, et in laboribus a juventute mea; exaltatus autem, humiliatus sum et conturbatus.	I am a pauper, and in labors from my youth: and being exalted, have been humbled and troubled.
from Latin Vulgate	From Douay-Rheims[109]
Psalm 87:16	
LonBL 35087 (Bruges, *c.* 1505–10)	
Incipit in all voices:	
Pauper sum ego.	I am a pauper.
Chansonnier of Margaret of Austria: BrusBR 228 (Mechelen, *c.* 1516–23)	
Superius and Tenor:	
Ce povre mendiant pour Dieu	This poor beggar of God
n'a benefice ni office,	has neither benefice nor office
qui ne luy vault ou soit propice	which is worth anything or is favorable
autant que porte sur le lieu.	to him except for the clothes he is wearing.
Bassus:	
Pauper sum ego.	I am a pauper. [110]

[107] Van Benthem and Brown's commentary to Vol. 27, in Desprez, *New Josquin Edition*, 33.
[108] There is no voice designation in the top voice, but the lower two are specified as shown here.
[109] *Douay-Rheims and Latin Vulgate Online*, 2001–2013, web, www.drbo.org.
[110] Translation from van Benthem and Brown, Commentary to Vol. 27, *New Josquin Edition*, 34.

results in an understanding of this piece as a commentary on the vulnerable status of professional musicians. The bassus motto, stated six times, begins on "*la*" of the natural hexachord, and each statement is separated by two measures of rest. The simple melody is diatonically transposed to begin on each note of the natural hexachord from "*la*" down to "*re*" before jumping up a fifth to return to "*la*" for the final statement. The third statement of the motto can begin on "*mi*" but the singer must mutate to the hard hexachord in order to sing the final b♮, resulting in the same solmization syllables as the initial statement. Thus, the solmization syllables are the same on the first, fourth, and final statements of the motto, initiating a circular pattern, perhaps an evocation of Fortuna's wheel. The Latin phrase, "*Pauper sum ego*," is in the first-person singular and the extension of this text in the Basevi Codex makes it clear that it was understood, at least by one of the scribes at the Hapsburg court, as a reference to Psalm 87:16 (see text in Table 3.13).[111] This extended biblical quotation does not fit the short, repeated motto used in the bassus voice, but instead seems to have been included in order to enhance a reader/performer's understanding of the symbolic meaning of the cantus firmus motto, which travels from high to low and back up using the natural and hard hexachords.[112]

The ideas of movement from high to low in the constructed tenor and in the biblical text have implications for the life of a professional musician of that time, which would have begun in his youth when, as a little boy, he was accepted into a choir school or *maitrîse*. Recent research on such institutions has shown that these children did indeed labor heavily, shouldering the brunt of the daily performance of the Divine Office, as well as many additional services, in return for room and board as well as education in music and Latin grammar, among other subjects and skills.[113] Because of the centrality of musical performance to the cycles of the Church and the status of the institution, these children were often chosen on the basis of

[111] Since all of these sources come from the circles of the Hapsburg court and seem closely related, perhaps even copied from the same exemplar, it is likely that this was a commonly held understanding of this quotation, although it is a phrase used elsewhere in the Bible and also in seemingly musically unrelated liturgical chants. See the facsimile of the Basevi Codex, fol. 89v.

[112] I recently read that before going on to perform, Leonard Cohen usually gathered his ensemble together to sing a round sharing the first line of this text. Article by Elsa Bray published in *The Independent*, web, Sept. 5, 2012 on https:// independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/music/features/leonard-cohen-before-the-gig-a-chant-in-latin-8104872.html.

[113] There are many excellent articles in the volume edited by Susan Boynton and Eric Rice, *Young Choristers: 650–1700*, in particular the Introduction. Also see Boynton and Cochelin, "The Sociomusical Role of Child Oblates," and Borgerding, "Imagining the Sacred Body," in Boynton and Kok, eds, *Musical Childhoods and the Cultures of Youth*.

their musical ability, rather than their social class or financial means.[114] Hence the next line, "and being exalted, have been humbled and troubled," could be seen to refer to the accidents of Fate or the Wheel of Fortune that raised a child from a poor family to more sumptuous circumstances. For example, think of the children from Cambrai who accompanied Nicolas Grenon to Rome to sing in the papal chapel for two years, in 1425–27, and the instability of these children's fate after their voices had broken, when they would have been forced to compete for the few coveted adult positions in ecclesiastical institutions or courts.[115]

Although they do not explicitly mention music or musicians, the situations described in the two French texts can be interpreted as being self-reflexive because of their placement in the mouths of musicians capable of singing or playing this piece and the association of these upper lines with the constructed cantus firmus.[116] The poem from BrusBR 228 (shown at the bottom of Table 3.13) contains a reference to the financial structures of ecclesiastical institutions when the author laments that he "has neither benefice nor office." If they could get them, and hold onto them, benefices provided ecclesiastical musicians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with financial stability into their old age, as well as a secure place to retire.[117] Considering that the Latin phrase in the bassus is in the first-person singular and there is no other name presented in the text, the "poor beggar" seeking financial security is likely to be understood as representing

[114] The requirements for choirboys differed by region and era. See Boynton and Rice, "Performance and Premodern Childhood," 9; Dumont, "Choirboys and *Vicaires* in the Maîtrise of Cambrai," 155.

[115] On Grenon's trip to Rome accompanied by choirboys from Cambrai, see Fallows, *Dufay*, 31. Since a choirboy was active in this capacity for a period of roughly ten years, and an adult ecclesiastical singer could be active for between twenty and forty years, depending on how long he lived and how healthy he remained, simple math shows that choir schools were probably producing a larger number of musically trained young men than could possibly find employment in the musical institutions of the church. It seems likely that this would have led to a fair amount of competition in the job market and instability in the lives of the former choirboys.

[116] Although these lines might also have been performed by amateur musicians, like Margaret herself and the other noble owners of these sources, it seems likely that these wealthy amateurs were in sympathy with the musical professionals in their employ who also functioned in the role of musical instructors.

[117] For northern European musicians working in Italy, benefices were often sought in locations that were relatively close to their family and personal connections, so this can frequently be used as an indicator of the musician's place of origin or education. Pamela Starr has shown how different musicians shaped their own career paths; her work includes excellent case studies demonstrating that individuals could make choices on how they developed their professional profile. See Starr, "Rome as the Centre of the Universe" and "Musical Entrepreneurship."

the poet, the composer, or the singer. Or perhaps it even represents all three in one, the complete musician, reflected in the idealized figure of Josquin, the composer to whom this piece is attributed.

By referring to himself as a "*mendiant pour Dieu*" the author, perhaps Josquin, alludes to the itinerant status of many singers, traveling and looking for work, but also their spiritual affinity with the orders of mendicant friars who chose a wandering life and financial instability in order to preach. Interestingly, the itinerant, hand-to-mouth, dependent lifestyle of a singer, basically as a servant of either the Church or a court, is documented in payment records which show that one of the major expenditures in both courtly and ecclesiastical documents for musicians was for their clothing.[118] Although musicians were often relatively poor, if they were associated with an institution they were expected to dress appropriately, and often extremely well, so clothes or livery would have been provided, especially for special occasions.[119] This livery indicated a musician's identity and status in a sumptuous environment, and was often of a quality beyond his normal means. This may be what is referred to in the final lines of the French text, "*autant que porte sur le lieu*," translated by Jaap van Benthem and Howard Mayer Brown as "except only for the clothes he is wearing." This seems appropriate, since the clothes of a courtly singer or ecclesiastical musician might be his most precious possessions.

In the commentary to the *New Josquin Edition*, Jaap van Benthem and Howard Mayer Brown wonder how the text fragment "*Fortune d'estrange plummaige*" could comment on or expand the meaning of the text "*Pauper sum ego*," "unless the transposed formula in the B [bassus] was intended to represent the gradual descent of the wheel of fortune."[120] Viewing this composition in the light of the concerns and professional anxieties of musicians, the transposition of the motto down a step each time can easily be understood to represent the turning of Fortuna's wheel. In her article on

[118] For a few examples, see many of the documents appended to Higgins, "*In hydraulis* Revisited," 84–86. In her discussion of documents 7 and 8 she shows that, although Busnoys was often not officially on the payment registers for the ducal chapel, these expenditures for clothing prove that he was outfitted for performance with this ensemble (p. 44). She also argues that the differences between the robes provided for Busnoys (a long robe "of fine violet cloth . . . lined with the fur of 101 black lambs") and Hayne von Ghizeghem ("long black woolen robes with black statin *pourpoints*, or short tunics") clarified "the formal distinctions in their respective functions," 45.

[119] For an account of the kind of expenditures made for the clothing of servants and vassals for special occasions, see the treasurer's account for clothing from Charles the Bold's meeting with the Emperor outside Trier, transcribed in Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, 140–44, particularly the trumpeters and minstrels on p. 143, and the provost of St. Donatian on p. 142.

[120] Commentary to Vol. 27, *New Josquin Edition*, 34.

the intersection of renown, memory, and writing in the late Middle Ages, Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet points out that in the Middle Ages Fame or Fama was represented as a monstrous "bird with plumage covered with eyes, ears, and mouths, and that flew quickly throughout the world."[121] The phrase from the Basevi Codex seems to be conflate the ideas of the bird of Fama with the enigmatic figure of Fortuna and her wheel. The curious plumage suddenly makes more sense as a reference evoking the forces of renown and celebrity that could propel a professional musician to success in the international scene, dressed in the fine robes or livery of a singer, and his inevitable eventual fall into the clutches of death and Purgatory. Whether this mysterious French phrase from the Basevi Codex represents an alternate text that has been lost except for the incipit, or was simply included as a commentary on the professional concerns expressed by this idiosyncratic composition, this interpretation of it adds conviction to the theory that the piece expresses the author's anxiety about fame/fortune and money matters.[122]

Conclusion

These musicians' motets emphasize the role of humans as creators of powerful musical objects that will endure to celebrate their creator, even after the latter's death. Du Fay, in his *Ave regina celorum III*, memorialized himself in a motet while also invoking protection for the broader musical community, placing his name in the mouths and throats of his fellows. Similarly, all the pieces discussed in this chapter indicate the efficacious nature of sung musical prayers for musicians as a group; such prayers brought their common concerns together and established connections and continuity across time. In his motet, *Omnium bonorum plena* Compere builds a musical genealogy through the names of thirteen students or musical children of Du Fay. Compere's other motet, *Sile fragor,* the anonymous *Decantemus in hac die*, and Josquin's motet-chanson present the professional concerns of musicians through references to the physical actions of polyphonic singing, to group meals, or to the lifestyle of

[121] "*L'allégorie personelle représente Fama comme un monstre, un oiseau aux plumes couvertes d'yeux et de bouches et qui vole, rapide, â travers le monde.*" Cerquiglini-Toulet, "*Fama* et les preux," 41.

[122] Starr, "Rome as the Centre of the Universe." One might even wonder if the plumage is another reference to the sumptuous livery worn by musicians, which would have been well beyond a poor choirboy's initial station.

musicians. These three works appealed to experiences particular to those in the musical profession, building solidarity in the musical community while making this information public to both heavenly and earthly patrons. In a similar vein, some musicians constructed musical laments for other musicians. These works, the subject of the next chapter, are similarly concerned with the establishment of a genealogy of musical patrilineage, and also strengthened the continuity of the musical community while drawing attention to the act of musical creation.

4 | *Plorer, gemir, crier*: Musical Mourning and the Composer

Death was an important impetus for the composition of polyphonic music in the late medieval and early modern periods. As we saw in the discussion of the composition and performance of Du Fay's personal prayer *Ave regina celorum III* at Cambrai (see Chapter 2) and the analysis of the textual content of Compere's *Omnium bonorum plena* (see Chapter 3), musicians were central to this process, both as performers and as founders of musical prayers. Manuscripts owned by churches with large musical ensembles, like Cambrai, included simple settings of generic prayers and votive liturgical items, like the *Salve regina* and other Marian antiphons, to fulfill the requirements of endowed services listed in obit books.[1] At the same time complex polyphonic compositions were created for the intricate obsequies of important rulers, setting grand, occasional texts, such as the anonymous lament for Maximilian, *Proch dolor*, or Moulu's motet-chanson, *Fiere atropos / Anxiatus est in me*, on the death of Anne of Brittany.[2] Among the many solemn compositions from the decades around 1500 is a group of polyphonic laments for musicians, which musicologists often call *déplorations*. These pieces commemorate connections between musicians of different generations, often invoking student–teacher relationships like those discussed in Compere's *Omnium bonorum plena* or Busnoys' *In hydraulis*. Musicians' laments feature a variety of musical and textual combinations, including superimposing different languages or highlighting the inclusion of preexistent music, and thus foreground the role of the composer. In combining a lament text with unusual musical features that often mix generic conventions, musicians' laments reinforce the continuity of the musical community with the past, establishing the living composer within a venerable tradition.

It is no coincidence that Machaut, the first composer to supervise the creation of manuscript collections of his own complete poetic and musical works and the author of multiple self-referential compositions, was also the

[1] Haggh, "Foundations or Institutions?", Curtis, "Simon Mellet, scribe of Cambrai," and Nosow, *Ritual Meanings*; for generic prayer settings, see H. M. Brown, "The Mirror of Man's Salvation."

[2] For musical obsequies for rulers see many of the articles in Gasch and Lodes, eds, *Tod in Musik*.

first composer to be honored with a polyphonic musical lament, "Armes amours / O flour des flours" by composer Franciscus Andrieu and poet Eustache Deschamps. As mentioned in Chapter 3, this lament is contained in the Chantilly Codex, where it functions within a complex of works from the generation after Machaut, many of which refer to music and music-making. In her article on Machaut's lament and constructions of renown in the Chantilly Codex, Elizabeth Eva Leach shows how various aspects of this source demonstrate that Machaut's self-presentation in his works was accepted by composers of the following generation.[3] She argues that Machaut's concern with his own posterity is evident not only in his activities in terms of overseeing and organizing the copying of his works, but also in four additional areas that are relevant to this discussion of self-referential works and memorials:

1. the dual portrayal and description of Machaut in the illuminations and *Prologue* to his manuscripts, which she claims is "designed to exploit the 'audio-visual poetics' of memory";
2. the creation of genealogies of musicians in both the *Voir dit* and the *Dit de la Harpe*;
3. Machaut's explanation of the chanson "Plourez, dames" as a musical "testament," inspired by a period of grave illness, which can be linked to contemporary depictions of "weepers" on tombs; and
4. the actual provisions that Machaut made for his own musical commemoration after his death, perhaps including the creation of a polyphonic Mass and an endowment to support its annual performance.[4]

These ideas resonate on multiple levels with the concepts of musical community and commemoration considered in the previous chapters, in particular the continued use of musical genealogies in Compere's motet and in various theory treatises, the way personal prayer motets and endowments show evidence of the importance of being remembered by the community through prayer, and the emphasis in many of the works considered on the potential of a written musical object to keep the memory of its author alive.

[3] "As a whole, the *Ch* [Chantilly Codex] songs attest to Machaut's success in claiming a lasting place in a genealogy of inventors of music – his own self-presentation has become the perception of his younger contemporaries." Leach, "Dead Famous," 86.

[4] Leach, "Dead Famous," 64–65; for the arguments tying this Mass to Reims see Robertson, "The Mass of Guillaume de Machaut."

There are, however, two major differences between the highly self-referential repertoire considered by Leach and the later fifteenth-century laments for musicians. Leach convincingly argues for the centrality of a patron/composer relationship to the Chantilly manuscript and the works that it contains. In contrast, the musical laments of the later fifteenth century, like the musicians' motets considered in Chapters 2 and 3, do not show evidence of direct patronage. It is also important to consider the significant reshaping of the European musical community during the large gap, spanning at least sixty years, between the lament for Machaut (from the 1390s) and the next absolutely verifiable polyphonic lament for another musician, Ockeghem's motet-chanson for Binchois (d. 1460), *Mort tu as navré / Miserere*. During this time, there was a significant increase in the number of foundations supporting sacred polyphony across Europe, which fostered a widespread exchange of musical techniques, practitioners, and repertoire.[5] These intergenerational and international laments for musicians document the itinerant existence of many ecclesiastical musicians with financial and social ties to multiple institutions across Europe through the benefice system, chronicling relationships between musical professionals in life and after death.

Laments for musicians are difficult to classify musically because they combine elements of different genres and often set texts in several languages and language combinations. Organized chronologically by the death date of the composer commemorated, Table 4.1 covers pieces from 1450 to 1570 that use Latin or French.[6] Table 4.1 graphically illustrates the variety of language configurations through the use of contrasting fonts.[7] The main time period discussed in this book is enclosed within a box of double lines. The final column provides the best information available on the dating of the earliest source for the given piece.[8]

For most Renaissance music the language and poetic genre of the text are the most important indicators of musical genre and often also dictate the musical form through conventions of musical and textual repetition.

[5] Strohm, *Rise of European Music*; and Haggh, "The Meeting of Sacred Ritual and Secular Piety" and "Foundations or Institutions?"

[6] I have included the lament for Machaut, since, despite the significant gap between its composition and that of the other laments, it remains relevant to the discussion.

[7] There are also a number of related laments in Italian or dialects that I have chosen not to include in this chapter. These include four laments for Willaert – Lorenzo Benvenutis, *Giunto Adrian / Di qual i grandi del mondo*; Battista Confortis, *S'hoggi son senz' honor / S'hoggi s'acheta*; Andrea Gabrieli, *Sassi, Palae, Sabbion, del Adrian lio*; Alvise Willaert, *Pianza'l Grego Pueta / Fra tandi*.

[8] Dates come primarily from the *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550*, as it is available on DIAMM, with some amendments recommended by DIAMM.

Table 4.1 Polyphonic laments for musicians in French and Latin from 1450 to 1570

The language of the text is indicated by these fonts: *French*, Latin

Composer	Title	vv.	Subject[9]	Died	First source
Andrieu	*Armes amours / O flour des flours*[10]	4	Machaut	1377	Chantilly 564, *c.* 1400
Dufay	*En triumphant de cruel dueil*	3	Binchois?[11]	1460	Oporto 714, 1460
Ockeghem	*Mort tu as navré* / Miserere	4	Binchois	1460	DijonBM 517, *c.* 1465–69
Obrecht	Mille quingentis / Requiem	4	W. Obrecht	1488	SegC s.s., *c.* 1502
Josquin	*Nymphes des bois*[12] / Requiem	5	Ockeghem	1497	Motetti 5
Anon.[13]	Ergone conticuit[14]	4	Ockeghem	1497	RISM 1547/5
Pierre de la Rue	*Plorer, gemir, crier* / Requiem	4	Ockeghem?[15]	1497	FlorC 2439, *c.* 1508
Jean Mouton	*Qui ne regrettoit le gentil Fevin?*		A. Fevin	1511–12	RISM 1520/3
Verdelot	Recordare domine / Parce domine	5	Obrecht?[16]	1505	RISM 1534/5
Josquin[17]	Absolve, quaesumus, Domine / Requiem	6	Obrecht?[18] Josquin?[19]	1505 1521	ToleBC 21, 1549
Anon.	Musica, quid defles?	4	Agricola	1506	RISM 1538/8
Anon.[20]	Absolve, quaesumus, Domine / Requiem	7 (4)	Josquin	1521	PiacFM s.s, 1530s
Benedictus Appenzeller	Musae Jovis[21]	4	Josquin	1521	Cambrai 124, 1542
Gombert	Musae Jovis / Circumdederunt	6	Josquin	1521	RISM 1545/15

[9] Entries followed by a question mark indicate that the text does not contain the subject's name. For each of these I have provided a footnote containing the justification from a secondary source of literature proposing the subject for the lament.

[10] Text by Eustache Deschamps. [11] Fallows, "Two More Dufay Songs."

[12] Text by Molinet. [13] Attributed to "Jo. Lupi" in RISM 1547–45. [14] Text by Erasmus.

[15] Meconi, "Ockeghem and the Motet-Chanson."

[16] Uses the bassus of Obrecht's *Parce domine* in the superius against the Introit from the *Missa pro vitanda mortalitatem* or Matins Responsory for the *De Regum* feast. See Böker-Heil, *Die Motetten von Philippe Verdelot*.

[17] Authenticity of this attribution has been questioned. [18] Elders, "A Tribute to Obrecht?"

[19] Noble, "Josquin Desprez," in *New Grove Dictionary* vol. 9.

[20] Picker suggests either Willaert or Verdelot as composers. See "Josquiniana," in *Josquin des Prez*, 247–60.

[21] Text by Gerard Avidius.

Table 4.1 (*cont.*)

The language of the text is indicated by these fonts: *French*, Latin					
Composer	Title	vv.	Subject	Died	First source
Vinders	O mors inevitabilis / Requiem	7	Josquin	1521	RISM 1545/15
Josquin[22]	Fletus date et lamentamini / Requiem	–	Josquin	1521	LeuvHC C1, *c.* 1550
Anon.	Eheu dolor / Requiem	6	Jo. Lupi	1539	RISM 1545/2
Othmayr	Non secus atque olim[23]	4	Breitengraser	1542	RISM 1546/8
Jacobus Vaet	Continuo lachrimas / Requiem	6	Clemens non Papa	1555–56	RISM 1558/4
Cipriano de Rore	Concordes adhibete / Vive Adriane	5	Willaert	1562	RISM 1566/17

Normally motets are through-composed and in Latin and chansons are in French following various formal schemes, although there are examples of stylistic overlap and a few outright exceptions. Just a glance at Table 4.1 shows that Latin-texted compositions far outnumber those setting French texts. Thus, the term *déploration*, since it is borrowed from French literature and implicitly sidelines the Latin-texted polyphonic laments for musicians, seems inadequate to an understanding of this complex group of compositions.

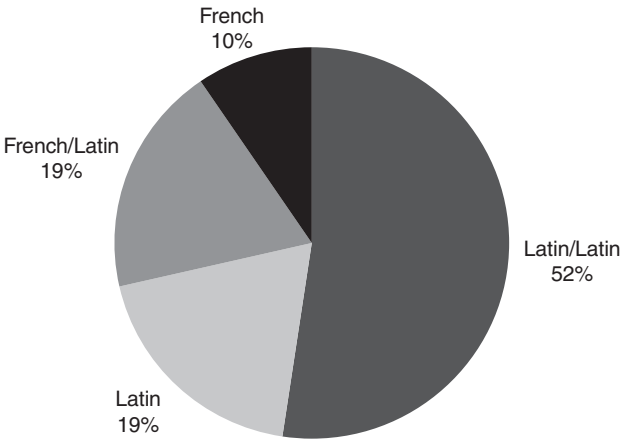
The poignant laments of Ockeghem for Binchois and Josquin for Ockeghem have dominated musicological discourse and obscured our understanding of these compositions as a group. Ockeghem's *Mort tu as navré / Miserere* and Josquin's *Nymphes des bois / Requiem* are called motet-chansons – pieces with a French text in most of the voices but employing a preexistent Latin text and at least fragments of a chant melody in another voice, usually the tenor. To her article on the origins of the motet-chanson Honey Meconi attaches two appendices, first a list of motet-chansons, and second an extensive list of laments for musicians. She concludes by stating that with his lament for Binchois, Ockeghem "set the tone for more than two dozen succeeding works in a very special medium," meaning the motet-chansons, and yet only seven of the motet-chansons that she identifies as being composed after Binchois' death are laments.[24] When I tabulated the

[22] This is a contrafactum of *Nymphes de bois / Requiem* in a set of partbooks from the sixteenth century. See Vanhulst, "Le Manuscrit C1."

[23] Text by Thomas Venatorius.

[24] Meconi, "Ockeghem and the Motet-Chanson," 392. About half of the pieces are love songs.

Table 4.2 Languages and language-combination in laments for musicians from Table 4.1



language combinations of the extant polyphonic laments for musicians I found that by far the most common genre was the traditional cantus firmus motet, with a Latin text set over a preexistent piece of Latin-texted chant comprising 52 percent of the results, followed by compositions with a single Latin text at 19 percent (see Table 4.2). The total number of laments incorporating French text amounted to less than a third of the works, with the four motet-chansons accounting for only 10 percent of the repertoire.[25]

Of the motet-chansons, there is a sixty-year gap between the first source for the third piece, Josquin's *Nymphes des bois,* and the last composition in this genre, Certon's lament for Sermisy, *Musiciens, chantre melodieux / Requiem*.[26] Thus, although the early motet-chansons were certainly influential, they did not by themselves create a set of generic conventions for lamenting a musician that was followed by later generations of composers.

Julie Cumming and Thomas Brothers have both discussed the importance of genres and subgenres as markers of meaning in fifteenth-century

[25] This table only includes laments for musicians, not musical laments for rulers or patrons, of which there may be a higher proportion of motet-chansons.

[26] Certon's motet-chanson lamenting a musician is not included in Meconi's list, perhaps because it comes so much later in the fifteenth century. The other possible motet-chanson is Pierre de la Rue's *Plorer, gemir, crier / Requiem*, which, although it has all of the markers of a musical lament, has an incomplete text that leaves the subject unidentified. I think Meconi's argument for Ockeghem is convincing. See Meconi, *Pierre de La Rue and Musical Life*, 180–82.

music.[27] Although generic terminology is often applied from a twentieth- or twenty-first-century point of view, the goal of such work for musicologists is usually to isolate trends and normative characteristics in order to understand function and meaning in individual works or in the works of a particular composer. In *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay* Cumming uses subgenres as a way of organizing and categorizing the wide variety of Latin-texted compositions that were labeled "motet" in the fifteenth century.[28] This allows her to trace changes in function and the connections between different national traditions. Brothers applies the idea of specific musical features, including esoteric mensuration and compositional techniques, as markers of generic influence and identifies a growing historic sense in a number of late-fifteenth-century cantus firmus motets and Masses.[29] The laments for musicians do not fit comfortably into any single genre or subgenre, since they exhibit a wide variety of languages and generic markers.[30] Instead these pieces are unified by purpose, to honor a deceased colleague, and by an explicit mixing of generic conventions, thereby foregrounding the compositional process. Although they draw from multiple generic traditions, I argue that as a group these pieces show us another way in which composers built a sense of community and also marketed their profession to a knowledgeable audience of peers and patrons.

Personal Grief in a Trio of Early Laments by Du Fay, Obrecht, and Ockeghem

The focus on the motet-chansons by Ockeghem and Josquin has obfuscated the important contributions of Du Fay and Obrecht to the creation of a musical language of mourning.[31] The laments by Du Fay (a chanson), Ockeghem (a motet-chanson), and Obrecht (a cantus firmus motet), all composed in the second half of the fifteenth century, constitute a generically diverse trio sufficient for understanding musicians' laments as a whole. In his highly affective, if old-fashioned, chanson-lament for

[27] Cumming, *Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 26; T. Brothers, "Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition."

[28] See chapter 3 for an excellent summary and discussion the variety of uses for the term "motet" in the fifteenth century. Cumming, *Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 41–62.

[29] T. Brothers, "Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition."

[30] Previous authors who have discussed these works as a group include Meconi; see also Rubin's PhD dissertation, "*Car Atropos*: A Study of the Renaissance Deploration"; and Geary's MA thesis, "Renaissance Déploration."

[31] It is impossible to know if the collaborative lament for Machaut by Andrieu and Deschamps was known to Ockeghem or any of his contemporaries in the mid-fifteenth century.

Binchois, "En triumphant," Du Fay celebrated the individual musical creations of his esteemed colleague.[32] With his lament for his father, who was also a musician, *Mille quingentis*, Obrecht brought the tradition of prestigious epitaphs, created to memorialize great men, into the realm of professional musicians.[33] Although these pieces have a similar memorial function, they draw on generic markers of different compositional traditions and cultural contexts, attracting attention to the act of musical creation and to the composer himself.

Du Fay's "En triumphant de cruel dueil"

As David Fallows points out, Du Fay's "En triumphant" is an understated chanson-lament for his friend, Binchois. The friendship between Du Fay and Binchois, which was beautifully memorialized by Martin le Franc in his *Le champion des dames*, is also confirmed by courtly and ecclesiastical documents.[34] Although the text is corrupt in the unique musical source, Oporto 714, Fallows has identified a more comprehensible version of it in the Rohan manuscript, an important source for fifteenth-century French poetry, compiled in Paris in the 1470s.[35]

Unlike that of many other laments, the text does not include the name of the subject, making its identity as a lament less verifiable than in other cases.[36] Instead the poet incorporates the titles of two well-known chanson texts, both with famous musical settings by Binchois (shown in bold in Table 4.3). These allow the reader or listener to surmise that this piece, with its multiple references to mourning, is actually a lament for a specific person, a professional musician identified by his musical works.[37] The ambiguous double meaning of the reference to "Sad pleasure,"

[32] I accept Fallows' proposal that this lament was intended for Binchois, although Alejandro Planchart has suggested that he has new information regarding the dates of the Porto MS that will be published in his forthcoming monograph on Du Fay. For Fallows' view see "Two More Dufay Songs" and "Robertus de Anglia"; and for alternate interpretations of this song see Gallagher, "Du Fay's *En triumphant de Cruel Dueil*"; and Gossen, *Musik in Texten*.

[33] Gallagher, "*Pater optime*," 417.

[34] Fallows surmises that they met in 1434 at the wedding of Louis and Anne of Savoy and in 1449 at Sainte-Waudru, Mons. See "Two More Dufay Songs," 358. David Fallows also pointed out in a personal communication to the author that dozens of Mons documents are witnessed both by Binchois' father and the man in whose house Marie Du Fay spent her last days, indicating that Du Fay and Binchois knew each other from a young age.

[35] Fallows, "Two More Dufay Songs," 358.

[36] For a discussion of some of the issues surrounding hidden names see de Looze, "A New Look at the Anagrams of Guillaume de Machaut."

[37] For some of the discussion on musical intertextuality in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries see Plumley, "Playing the Citation Game" and "Intertextuality in Fourteenth-Century

Table 4.3 Text of Du Fay's lament for Binchois

A	En triumphant de cruel dueil **Dueil angoisseux** es mon accueil et tout mon bien n'est que martire,	When I overcome cruel mourning, **Fearful Mourning** receives me and all my good is only martyrdom;
B	et ne saroie mon mal descripre ne dire ce dont je me dueil.	and I do not know how to describe my ills nor to explain why I mourn.
a	**Triste plaisir**, mon seul recueil, me compaignera a son vueil et me fera plorer pour rire.	**Sad Pleasure,** my only help, will accompany me according to his whim and will make me weep rather than laugh.
A	*En triumphant de cruel dueil* ***Dueil angoisseux** es mon accueil* *et tout mon bien n'est que martire,*	*When I overcome cruel mourning,* ***Fearful Mourning** receives me* *and all my good is only martyrdom;*
a	La mort sera mon seul escueil, maiz que je soie en ung sercueil prestement bouté, sans plus dire;	Death will be my one way out, so long as I am firmly placed in a coffin, without more ado;
b	n'autre ne quiers je avoir pour mire, pour m'avancer ce que plus vueil.	and I do not wish for any other healer to help me to that which I prefer.
AB	*En triumphant de cruel dueil* ***Dueil angoisseux** es mon accueil . . .*	*When I overcome cruel mourning,* ***Fearful Mourning** receives me . . .*

represented as "accompanying" the author as a musical support, situates these chanson titles in the world of their musical settings. Musical and textual references to other compositions and poems were common in the courtly world of the chanson, an appropriate medium for honoring Binchois, who had strong ties to chanson production and performance.[38] Perhaps Du Fay considered overt naming to be too crude a device for the elite cultural context intended for this chanson-lament.

Death and mourning are the subjects of the two chansons referred to by their titles in "En triumphant" – "Dueil angoisseux" and "Triste plaisir." The second line of the first stanza of "En triumphant" quotes the first words of Christine de Pisan's lament on the death of her husband, "Dueil angoisseux," set most famously to music by Binchois. The next section, the aA, begins with a reference to "Triste plaisir," a rondeau by Alain Chartier, famous French poet and cleric of Charles VII, and also set by Binchois. "Triste plaisir" was included in Jean Régnier's account of his time of

Chanson"; Stone, "A Singer at the Fountain"; H. M. Brown, "Emulation, Competition, and Homage"; Reynolds, "Counterpoint of Allusion."

[38] See Kirkman and Slavin, eds, *Binchois Studies*.

captivity as a prisoner of war.[39] Régnier, who was captured in 1432 by French soldiers and held captive for eighteen months, was a poet and the bailiff of Auxerre, as well as being a close friend of the duke of Burgundy.[40] His account of his imprisonment, published in the sixteenth century, includes an elaboration on Chartier's original poem as well as multiple references to "Dueil angoisseux."[41] The text of Du Fay's "En triumphant" extends and reworks the juxtaposition of weeping and laughing, an image central to the original chanson, in the lines following the reference to Chartier's text.

In Du Fay's rondeau text, the musical works of Binchois act as a source of comfort for the mourning poet/composer but he does not directly quote the music. David Fallows argues that following the example of the text, which may have been written by Du Fay, the composer relies on a subtle alteration of his own musical language to emulate Binchois' style, alerting his knowledgeable courtly audience to his personal expression of grief.[42] The second ab, the only section without a reference to a specific musical work by Binchois, includes the first overt reference to death. The poet says that he will remain sorrowful until reunited with the deceased in death, the ultimate escape from pain and grief, and he wants no comfort or healer beyond "that which he prefers," presumably the musical creations of his deceased friend, which return with the performance of the full refrain. Although Binchois himself is no longer available for conversation or music-making, his musical works remain. His friends, including Du Fay, can evoke his musical voice from beyond the grave by continuing to perform his compositions and by recalling their titles, sounds, and textures in their own musical creations.

[39] Régnier, *Les Fortunes et Adversitez de Jean Régnier*, ed. by Droz, 152–57.

[40] Bossuat, "Les Prisonnier de Beauvais," 26. For more information on how Régnier fits into the practice of taking prisoners of war and ransom culture in the early fifteenth century see Ambühl, *Ransom Culture in the Late Middle Ages*.

[41] For the reference to "Dueil angoisseux" see line 4421 in *Les Fortunes et Adversitez de Jean Régnier*, 152–57. Régnier explains that Chartier's text expresses the sorrow of isolation that he experienced during his long period of imprisonment and the bittersweet comfort that memories of friends can bring in times of solitude.

[42] "Traces of the Binchois style may be seen after the midpoint cadence at bar 15. First there is a sudden slowing of the harmonic rhythm here, reminiscent of what Binchois did in the second half of his *Dueil Angoisseux* and in *Adieu jusques je vous revoye*. Second the trochaic metre that dominates these pars is similar to that which permeates so many Binchois songs and is extremely rare in those of Dufay. Third, the nature of the line and the spacing of the texture at this point suggests that it may be a direct quote from Binchois." "Two More Dufay Songs," 359. Gallagher proposes that this is actually a self-quotation, "Du Fay's *En triumphant de Cruel Dueil*."

Ockeghem's *Mort tu as navré / Miserere*

In contrast to Du Fay's chanson-lament, Ockeghem's motet-chanson combines a ballade text and repetition scheme with sacred Latin words and elements of cantus firmus composition in the lower voices. The French text is a personal epitaph for Binchois in the form of a ballade, a genre that was becoming archaic by the 1460s. Although Binchois and Ockeghem were each famous for their respective connections to different courts, Burgundy and France, their strongest connection to each other was their common origin in the area of Mons. Binchois held a prebend there at St. Waudru and visited at least once in 1449, while Ockeghem founded an obit in Mons and identified himself as a "*natif*."[43] This motet-chanson is the only surviving setting of a text in ballade form by Ockeghem, indicating that the form itself is a reference to the tastes of a previous musical era, perhaps even to "Dueil angoisseux" itself, as distinguished from Ockeghem's own cultural context and poetic preferences.[44] In both sources the superius is given the first stanza of the French text (shown in Table 4.4), while Latin text fragments are placed beneath the tenor and contratenors; there is also a chant quotation in the secunda pars.

Because of their placement in the manuscript there is some question about the order of the stanzas of the French text and it is clear that some of the lines and syllables are missing. Despite these ambiguities, the three stanzas of the poem are neatly organized into three sections, each of which is concerned with Binchois' professional connections and identity.[45] The first stanza, written under the top voice, is a general call to mourning in which Binchois is called the "father of joyousness," implying both his role as a secular musician and as the progenitor of musical children.

The two following stanzas refer to Binchois' dual professional affiliations with secular and sacred music-making. The one on the first opening of the Dijon source is a learned appeal to Rhetoric and Music as well as a call for the prayers of the community of similar poet-musicians (the French word used is "*université*"), while the other makes reference to his two career paths, first as a soldier or courtier and later as a priest. The final line of this stanza, just before the refrain, also situates these verses within a sacred

[43] Kirkman, "Binchois the Borrower"; and van Overstraeten, "Le lieu de naissance de Jean Ockeghem," 30.

[44] Meconi, "Ockeghem and the Motet-Chanson," 385.

[45] The second two stanzas are present only in Dijon BM 517, with the one beginning "Retoricque" on fol. 166v and "En sa jonesse" on 168r. For an interesting discussion of the source situation see Fitch, "Restoring Ockeghem's *Mort tu as navré*."

Table 4.4 Text for Ockeghem's lament for Binchois

a	Mort tu as navré de ton dart	Death, you have wounded with your dart
	Le père de joieuseté	The father of joyousness,
a	En desployant ton estandart	In spreading your banner
	Sur Binchois, patron de bonté	Over Binchois, model of goodness,
b	Son corps est plaint et lamenté	Who, his corpse mourned and lamented,
	Qui gist soubs lame.	lies beneath a tombstone.
	Helas! plaise vous en pitié	Alas, may you for pity's sake
	Prier pour l'ame!	*Pray for his soul.*
a	Retoricque, se Dieu me gard,	Rhetoric, as God preserves me,
	son serviteur a regretée	Has grieved for her servant;
a	Musicque par piteux regard,	Music, with piteous gaze,
	Fait deul et noir [elle] a portée	Has mourned and dressed in black.
b	Pleurez hommes de feaulté;	Weep, O men of fealty,
	. . . [line missing]	. . .
	Veuillez hommes université	Ask that your community
	Prier pour l'ame!	*Pray for his soul*
a	En sa jonesse fut soudart	In his youth he was a soldier
	De honnerable mondanité	Of honorable worldliness
a	Puis a esleu la milleur part	Then he made the better choice,
	Servant Dieu en humilité	Serving God in humility,
b	Tant luy soit en crestienté	So much so that in Christendom
	Son nom est fame	His name is famed
	Qui detient de grant voulenté	Whoever pauses here with good will
	Priez pour l'ame!	*Pray for his soul!*
	Tenor[46]	
a	Miserere, miserere pie . . .	Have mercy, have mercy gracious . . .
b	Quem in cruce redemisti	Whom thou didst ransom on the cross
	precioso sanguine	with thy precious blood.
	Pie Jhesu domine dona ei requiem.	Gracious Jesus, Lord, give him repose.

Trans. adapted from Wexler.[47]

space by asking that "Whoever pauses here with good will, pray for his soul!" This suggests that these verses might actually have been inscribed on a wall-mounted memorial near his burial place in Soignes, as was implied by the wording of the b-section of the first stanza ("*Son corps est plaint et lamenté qui gist soubs lame*" or "Who, his corpse mourned and lamented,

[46] The Latin text fragments might have been intended for the contratenor voices as well as the tenor since fragments show up in both of them in MonteA 871.

[47] Wexler, "Ockeghem and Politics," 6.

lies beneath a tombstone"). If not actually present on the grave, the text at least evokes the contemplation of Binchois' final resting place as a real memorial space within the church. This lends Ockeghem's piece an unequivocal prayer function, wherever it might be performed, similar to Du Fay's personal prayer motet, *Ave regina celorum III*, intended to be sung *in hora mortis*, or Josquin's *Pater noster / Ave Maria* setting, performed in his memory at an outdoor shrine near his home.[48] The presence of professional concerns and references to the musical community, present throughout the French text, reinforce the continuity of compositional skill between the different generations of Ockeghem and Binchois.

The Latin text is extremely fragmented, but in both sources, two of the three lower voices have solemn phrases of Latin, without a single, clear liturgical source. Since these three lower voices seem to function as a unit, beginning both sections and cadencing before the entrance of the discantus, modern vocal editions and performances usually extend the Latin text to all three. The first section starts with a supplication in the lower voices, "*Miserere, miserere pie* . . . " and the second section opens with the phrase "*Quem in cruce redemisti precioso sanguine*" in the tenor in Dijon; fragments of this are in the contratenor bassus in the MonteA 871.

Because of their trochaic meter and proximity to the quotation of the text and music of the *Dies irae* at the end of the second section, Richard Wexler concludes that the earlier text fragments indicate a trope on the final segment of the *Dies irae* sequence.[49] There is also a partial concordance with a supplementary responsory verse from the Office of the Dead in a fourteenth-century manuscript from Arras.[50] I argue that the text at the beginning is general enough that it could simply be meant to evoke restrained funereal music, much of which seems to have been improvised harmony over the liturgical chants from the Mass and Office of the Dead.[51] In this case it might evoke the actual sound of a funeral procession or other memorial service, with a low three-voiced texture, appropriate for male clerics or confraternity

[48] Discussed previously in Chapter 2. Interestingly, we have wills for both Du Fay and Binchois. On Josquin's endowment see Fallows, *Josquin*, 382; and Kellman, "Josquin and the Courts," 208.

[49] Commentary to Ockeghem, *Ockeghem: Collected Works*, vol. 3, lxxxvi.

[50] Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, 893 (olim 465), 246r. Accessed on Cantus Database: http://cantusdatabase.org/node/113968. I have not yet been able to consult a copy of this responsory to see if there is a musical relationship between Ockeghem's setting and the chant melody.

[51] For some examples and discussion of simple settings that seem to be written-out improvisations see the appendix of Gioia Filocamo's article "Democratizing the Requiem," and her edition of Florence, Panciatichi 27. Improvisation and the Requiem are also discussed in Wexler, "Missing Movements of Ockeghem's Requiem."

Example 4.1 Three-voice texture in opening sections of Ockeghem, *Mort tu as navré*

A section, m. 1–5

1.Mort, En

Mi - se - re - re, *mi - se - re - re,*

Mi - se - re - re, mi - se - re - re,

Mi - se - re - re, mi - se - re

B section, m. 20–31

Son corps est plaint et

Quem in cru - ce

Quem in cru - ce re - de - -

Quem in cru - ce re -

members, the most common singers of simple funeral music.[52] Like the references to the ecclesiastical location of his memorial in the first and final stanzas of the biographical poem, the text and music of the lower two voices were also intended to evoke the final resting place of Binchois and a memorial function.

Like the sections for the three lower voices at the beginning of the a and b sections (shown in Example 4.1), the refrain line of the French text, "Pray for his soul" or "*Priez pour l'ame*," is introduced by a section of reduced three-voice texture (shown in Example 4.2). Similar to the supplicatory refrains in the texts for the two upper voices of Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar*, an isorhythmic

[52] In general, even in confraternities that included female members, public rituals were enacted by male members. Blake Wilson indicates that some of the male members of confraternities were mainly involved on the basis of their musical skills, even when they were not professional musicians and practiced another trade. See *Music and Merchants*, Table 8 on page 113 and Table 10 on page 124. Much of this music was probably improvised.

musician's motet discussed in Chapter 2, this is also a request for continued prayers for a musician's soul. During this section of reduced texture, the "*Pie Jhesu*" motive from the *Dies irae* chant is presented in a three-voice, stacked canon by the lower voices while the top voice rests.[53] This textural reduction draws the listener's attention to the relationship between the Latin and French texts, both of which are pleading for aid with the assonant words – Latin "*pie*" and French "*priez*." As is shown in Example 4.2, this is the only point in the piece at which the tenor acts as a real cantus firmus, singing a phrase from the final stanza of the *Dies irae* in semibreves and breves until the end of the section. The contratenor altus begins the point of imitation a breve before the tenor, but with a slightly different rhythm, and abandons the chant phrase quickly. The contratenor bassus imitates the tenor perfectly after a breve, at the fifth below, for the entire chant phrase "*Pie Jesu Domine*."

The placement of this quotation in the refrain, where it would have been heard on each repetition, proves that the welfare of Binchois' soul as ensured through the continued prayers of his community is the central motivation for this piece. Through a reduction in texture and in the use of imitation, assonance, and the presentation of a funereal chant tune in unvaried semibreves in the three lowest voices, Ockeghem emphasizes the prayer function of this setting of an archaic secular musico-poetic form, just as the ballade text illuminates the sacred and secular professional connections of Binchois as a professional musician.

Obrecht's *Mille quingentis*

In contrast to the generic mixing in Ockeghem's motet-chanson, Obrecht's lament for his father conforms to the genre of the cantus firmus motet. It draws attention to music as a worthy profession through the learned content of the text and original treatment of a cantus firmus derived from the Requiem Mass.[54] The text shared by the non-cantus firmus voices is an original epitaph, commemorating the passing of the composer's father, Willem Obrecht, who was a professional trumpet player in Ghent.[55] The text may have been written or commissioned by Jacob, and the motet was certainly created by him to commemorate his father's passing.[56]

[53] Gosman, "Stacked Canon."

[54] For a transcription see Obrecht, *New Obrecht Edition*, ed. by Chris Maas, vol. 16 (1996), 55–68.

[55] For the most thorough discussion of the documents regarding Willem, Jacob, and his mother, Lysbette Gheeraerts, in Ghent see Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, 21–44.

[56] Gallagher, "*Pater optime*," 406–57.

Example 4.2 Quotation of *Dies irae* in Ockeghem's lament for Binchois

50

en pi - tié

Quotation from Ockeghem

Pi - e Jhe - su, Do - - - mi -

Pi - e Jhe - su, Do - mi - ne,

gui - - Pi - e Jhe - su, Do - mi -

Quotation from Dies Irae

Pi - e Jé - su Dó - mi - ne,

7 55 60

Pri - - - - er pour l'a - - me.

- - - ne, do - na e - i re - qui - em.

do - - na - - e - - i re - qui - em.

ne, do - na e - - i re - qui - em.

dó - na é - is ré - qui - em.

Interestingly, although this piece is evidence of a real father–son relationship, the text is the most formal and least emotive of the three pieces considered in this section, perhaps a result of its association with the cantus firmus motet genre and pseudo-classical epitaph tradition.[57] As in many of the pieces discussed in Chapter 3, there is an autobiographical reference to the composer, with evocation of the Muses (shown in bold in line 6 of Table 4.5). Obrecht also includes a reference to the actual singing of the

[57] It could also be evidence of a changing approach to public and private expressions of grief and mourning in the late fifteenth century.

Table 4.5 Text for Obrecht's lament for his father

1	Mille quingentis verum bis sex minus annis Virgine progeniti lapsis ab origine Christi, Sicilides flerunt Muse, dum fata tulerunt Hobrecht Guillermum, magna probitate decorum,	After fifteen hundred less twice six years had lapsed since the birth of Christ, Son of the Virgin, the Sicilian Muses wept as the Fates took away, on the feast of St. Cecilia, Guillermus Hobrecht, adorned with great probity, who travelled through the Sicilian shore; it is he, also, who begot the **Orphic Jacob for the Muses**: therefore **sweetly sing this song, gentle choir of succentors**, so that his soul may be carried to Heaven and be given the palm.
5	Cecilie ad festum, qui Ceciliam peragravit Oram; idem **Orpheicum Musis Jacobum** generavit, Ergo **dulce melos succentorum chorus** alme Concine ut ad celos sit vecta anima et data palme	

Trans. by Leofranc Holford-Strevens[58].

piece (see lines 7–8), going so far as to request that the "choir of succentors" "sweetly sing," implying that he believes that a higher quality performance will be more effective as a prayer for his father's soul.

Sean Gallagher has provided an excellent reading of the classical allusions in the text, situating it in the context of late-fifteenth-century memorial culture. He shows how the text mixes biographical details with classical figures and stories, particularly the father–son relationship between Anchises and Aeneas, evoked through references to Sicily, the place of Anchises' death, in lines 3 and 5 of Table 4.5.[59] Gallagher and Reinhard Strohm have identified a number of similar epitaphs with classical allusions written for aspiring middle-class people and artists from the late fifteenth century, including works by writers as famous as Erasmus.[60] Both Strohm and Gallagher emphasize that biographical details couched in classical images were well within the contemporary trend of commemorations for the rising middle class. Gallagher argues that the inclusion of Jacob's name may indicate his own authorship of the text, but it also emphasizes and elevates the musical profession by comparing these two fifteenth-century musicians to no less than the founder of Rome and Orpheus himself.

The growing popularity of polyphonic settings of music for funeral services in the years around 1500 has been noted by multiple authors; such settings demonstrate a range of possibilities, from simple, quasi-improvised sequence settings to elaborate, multi-movement Mass

[58] From Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, 368–70. [59] Gallagher, "*Pater optime*," 430–34.
[60] Gallagher, "*Pater optime*," 417; Strohm, "*Hic miros cecinit cantus*," 155–61.

Table 4.6 Sources for Obrecht's *Mille quingentis*

SegC s.s.	Segovia Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Ms. s. s.	Spain, 1502
RISM 1504/1	*Motetti C* (Petrucci)	Venice, 1504
FlorC 2439	Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, Ms. Basevi 2439	Brussels/Mechlin, *c.* 1508

cycles.[61] The cantus firmus of Obrecht's lament is drawn from the Introit for the Requiem Mass. Of the multiple motets using the Requiem Introit as a cantus firmus c. 1500, this is perhaps the earliest, since the subject, Obrecht's father, died in 1488 and it was included in the Segovia manuscript, probably copied in 1502 (see the proposed dates for the sources in the last column of Table 4.6).[62] The manuscript in Segovia is the only source for the commemorative text.

In her discussion of the inclusion of the Requiem Introit as a cantus firmus in musical laments, Meconi cites Josquin as the source of this practice, relegating Obrecht's lament to a footnote, although *Nymphes des bois*, like Obrecht's motet, is also only extant in three sources.[63] All of the sources for Obrecht's lament identify the origins of the cantus firmus, even when they lack the primary text, clearly identifying it as a memorial composition.

In addition to the classical references in the text, Obrecht evokes classical theory through an affective use of mode, perhaps the first use of the E mode as an emblem of mourning.[64] Obrecht simply shifted the F-centered mode 6 or Lydian melody diatonically down a letter name, using the same set of

[61] David Rothenberg presented a paper on his current research into this topic at the Renaissance Society of America meeting in San Diego in April 2013. Other articles include Filocamo, "Democratizing the Requiem"; Wegman, "Testament of Jean de Saint Gille"; Wexler, "Missing Movements of Ockeghem's Requiem"; Russell, "An Early Spanish Polyphonic Requiem Mass"; Elders, "Music for the Dead" and "Death and Immortality." There are also two PhD dissertations on the subject, Wagstaff, "Music for the Dead"; and McDowell, "Death in the Renaissance."

[62] Josquin's *Nymphes des bois / Requiem* commemorates Ockeghem, who died almost ten years after Obrecht's father, and was printed in 1508. Other later pieces that use the Requiem Introit include la Rue's *Plorer, gemir, crier / Requiem*, Josquin's *Absolve, quaesumus, Domine / Requiem*, an anonymous composition of the same name, Vinders' *O mors inevitabilis / Requiem*, Vaet's *Continuo lachrimas / Requiem*, Certon's *Musiciens, chantre melodieux / Requiem*, and Regnart's *Defunctorum charitates / Requiem*.

[63] Meconi, *Pierre de La Rue and Musical Life*. David Rothenberg drew attention to this in the paper he presented at the RSA in San Diego.

[64] I am grateful to Jeffrey Dean for pointing this out to me after my presentation at the annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America in San Diego on April 6, 2013.

pitches, including a b♭, but now evoking the E-centered mode 3 or Phrygian, with a semitone above the final.[65] In her discussion of pieces that present the *Fortuna desperata* tune "in mi," Julie Cumming points out that "changing the mode of a cantus prius factus . . . is very rare."[66] The new version retains the exact same system of notes but in a different configuration, drastically changing the quality of the melody.[67]

Josquin's *Nymphes des bois* also evokes the transposed deuterus or Phrygian mode by diatonically transposing the Requiem Introit.[68] In the Medici Codex the voices of Josquin's lament are presented in clefless notation and the tenor is also shown with blackened notes. Using the "*fa*" sign and a verbal canon ("*prenes ung demy ton plus bas*" or "take a semitone lower") this tenor is musically realized as another transposition of the Introit to a Phrygian or deuterus mode, but this time it is realized on A with B♭. The ubiquitous use of the Phrygian mode as a symbol for lamentation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seems to have had its beginnings in these two musical laments for musicians.[69]

The use of the deuterus or Phrygian mode as a symbol of mourning is so engrained in our minds by the compositional conventions of later centuries that it is difficult to question what it meant to Obrecht and his contemporaries.[70] Tinctoris had recently written on mode, dedicating his work to the two most famous composers of the previous generation, Busnoys and of course Ockeghem. Although Tinctoris is careful to distinguish between the affective discussion of the Greek or Aristotelian melodies and the modes or tones used to classify plainchant, he does provide

[65] Interpreted as Mode 4 or Phrygian with B fa from SegC s.s. fol. 81v.

[66] Cumming, "Goddess Fortuna Revisited," 10.

[67] As Cumming points out, this diatonic transposition of a melody is used in five cantus firmus settings of the *Fortuna desperata* tune and also in settings of the *L'homme armé*. "Goddess Fortuna Revisited," ft. 30, 19.

[68] Coeurdevey, "*Nymphes des bois*"; Elders, "Music for the Dead" and "Death and Immortality"; Lowinsky, "Commentary," *Medici Codex of 1518*, vol. 3; Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture*, 162.

[69] Examples of the Phrygian as a symbol of lament are extremely numerous, including a tradition of compositions for a female singer over an ostinato "lament bass" or descending Phrygian tetrachord like Monteverdi's *Lamento della Ninfa* and Dido's Lament from Purcell's opera, *Dido and Aeneas*. See Rosand, "An Emblem of Lament." In his lament for Josquin, Gombert pays homage to his subject both by choosing another melody favored as a cantus firmus by Josquin, the *Circumdederunt me* from the Office of Matins for the Dead used in Josquin's extremely famous *Nimphes nappés* and in two motets, and by transposing this chant diatonically to four different finals, including two "Phrygian" versions, one beginning on e and the second on b. The *Nimphes nappés* was also widely distributed as a motet on a text by Conrad Rupsch entitled *Haec dicit Dominus*. On these pieces see Macey, "Josquin's *Nimphes, nappés*"; and Milsom, "*Circumdederunt*."

[70] David Rothenberg has argued that in the fifteenth century the sixth mode was associated with mourning, perhaps in part at least because of the prominence of the Requiem Introit and Kyrie.

Table 4.7 From Chapter I of Tinctoris, *De natura et proprietate tonorum* (1476)

Aristotelem suis in Politicis de quatuor melodiis, hoc est Mixolydia, Lydia, Phrygia et Doria copiose et eleganter disseruisse.	Aristotle has spoken extensively and elegantly in his Politics of four melodies [*melodiis*], that is Mixolydian, Lydian, Phrygian, and Dorian.
Quasquidem melodias non ex speciebus diapason sed ex propriis qualitatibus distinxit.	He distinguishes these melodies, not from the types of diapason, but from their individual qualities.
Namque Mixolydiam planctivam, Lydiam remissam, Phrygiam **rigidam** Et Doriam mediam affirmat.	For he calls the Mixolydian plaintive, the Lydian cheerful, the Phrygian **stern** and the Dorian neutral.
Quae licet melodiae pari ratione tonorum Boethianorum nuncupari possint a vocabulis gentium eis gaudentium.	The melodies of the Boethian tones understandably can be named with equal reason by words of the races delighting in them.
Istae tamen illis plurimum sunt dissimiles, enimvero quom secundum species diapason ipsi toni distinguantur si una species non potest esse plures, impossible est unam et eandem speciem diapason plures recipere tonos.	These former [Aristotelian melodies] are completely different from the latter [Boethian modes] since these later tones are distinguished according to their types of diapason, and since one type cannot be many, it is impossible for one and the same type of diapason to include many tones.
In qua tamen una et eadem specie diapason quaelibet melodiarum Aristotelicarum constitui potest.	In any one and the same type of diapason any of the Aristotelian melodies can be constructed.[71]

confirmation of the classification of E-mode as "*rigidam*" or "stern" in the excerpt provided in Table 4.7.

Tinctoris affirms the difference between the emotive "qualities" of the Aristotelian melodies, which each had a particular affect, and the distinct pitch sets of the modes or tones, which did not. He goes on to discuss the importance of melodic style, performance techniques, and instrument choices for creating different qualities or affects, regardless of the pitch structure used.

Ironically Tinctoris' argument against assigning modal affect to classifications of plainchant according to modes confirms the contemporary trend to conflate the affective Greek modes with the church modes used for organizing chant. Thus the "stern" and mourning quality of the E-modes found their first decisive expression not in music theory, but in Obrecht's use of a transposed cantus firmus in his lament for his father.

[71] Translation based on Tinctoris, *Opera Theoretica*, ed. by Albert Seay, 4.

Obrecht's self-conscious presentation of himself as an author and authority on the ancient Greek modes is especially striking with regard to the reception of his work and its influence on other composers, including Josquin. This affective interpretation of Obrecht's diatonically transposed cantus firmus was confirmed and amplified through the broader spectrum of emblems of mourning present in Josquin's lament for Ockeghem, a composer who was himself noted as an early experimenter with mode in polyphony and who had been one of the two dedicatees of Tinctoris' treatise on mode.[72] Together Obrecht and Josquin helped to establish the use of both the Requiem Introit and the Phrygian mode as emblems of mourning.[73]

These three musicians' laments from the late fifteenth century are all extensions of verifiable personal connections between internationally active professional musicians. In their diversity, from a subtly inflected, highly intertextual chanson, to an ambiguously mixed-genre motet-chanson, to a traditional cantus firmus motet full of references to humanistic learning, these pieces confirm the broad range of possibilities for manifestations of mourning in fifteenth-century memorial culture. Professional identity often finds expression in fifteenth-century memorials because professional associations like guilds and confraternities were often the most reliable institutions entrusted with the task of remembering middle-class artisans after death. In his study of wall-mounted memorials Douglas Brine argues that titles and professions were regularly included in memorials because they cemented bonds between the dead and the living, "perpetuating the reciprocal bonds between those still alive and the souls of those who had predeceased them."[74] In a similar way these laments reach out to the living "*université*" or community of musicians, demanding that they stop and remember the musical voices of their metaphoric and real fathers, while also celebrating the composer's ingenuity through complex structures, learned manipulations, and generic mixing. Two of these laments found their way into print, perhaps in part initiating another wave of much broader and at times more impersonal laments from the next generation of composers.

[72] For example, see the *Missa Cuiusvis toni, Missa Mi-mi,* among others. Okeghem, *Ockeghem's Missa Cuiusvis Toni*, ed. by Houle. See Günther, Finscher, and Dean, eds, *Modality in the Music of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, especially the articles by Burstyn, Strohm, Perkins, Dean, and van Benthem.

[73] Glareanus is often evoked in discussions of the use of Phrygian mode in *Nymphes des bois*, but he was writing about a generation after both Obrecht and Josquin.

[74] Brine, *Pious Memories*, 20.

Monumental Homage: Lamenting Josquin in the Age of Print

Of the fourteen laments listed in Table 4.1 composed for musicians who died between the advent of music printing in 1501 (beginning with Mouton's canonic lament for Fevin printed in 1520) and 1570, a total of six, almost half, were composed for Josquin. The strangeness of this situation increases when we consider that most of the sources for these pieces can be dated to at least ten years after Josquin's death, while most of the other laments occur in sources that can be dated to within five to ten years after the death of the composer. The seven sources transmitting laments for Josquin include manuscripts and printed volumes dating from the 1530s until 1583. Table 4.8 shows the information about all of these sources and is organized by the date of the source followed by information on the source's origin and the piece itself. As Table 4.8 shows, the decade 1540–50 was the most prolific decade for laments for Josquin, bolstered by the trio of laments appended to the end of Tylman Susato's *Septiesme livre.* Some of these laments even utilize Josquin's own musical voice, including *Fletus date et lamentamini*, a contrafactum of *Nymphes de bois* set with a new Latin text lamenting Josquin.[75]

The two settings of *Absolve, quaesumus, Domine* / *Requiem* are musically related. The first from the incomplete Piacenza partbooks (PiacFM s.s) which preserve only a few of the voices for this anonymous lament.[76] This incomplete seven-voice motet is modeled closely on a six-voice motet based on the same text and canonic cantus firmus. This second motet is found only in a manuscript from Toledo, where it bears an attribution to Josquin, indicating that the six-voice version was in circulation in the 1520s.[77] What is particularly striking about the motet from the Toledo manuscript is that this source does not list a particular person, instead providing the rubric "N" for "*nomen*," instructing the performers to simply insert a name.[78] There are questions about the authenticity of the attribution of this motet to Josquin. While Elder has proposed that it was a lament for Obrecht, Nobel has

[75] Vanhulst, "Le Manuscrit C1."

[76] Jeremy Noble suggests that it was not a lament by Josquin, but rather a lament for Josquin. See his entry in the *New Grove Dictionary*, vol. 9 (1980). Most other scholars accept it as an authentic composition by Josquin.

[77] This piece is based on a motet attributed to Josquin but which is now of questionable authorship. This seems to complement the practice of adding new voices to pieces composed by Josquin. For an edition of some of these by Josquin and others see Schlagel, ed., *Si placet Parts for Motets*.

[78] Like the version of *Nymphes des bois* in the Medici Codex, this motet is presented in black mensural notation in the manuscript from Toledo.

Table 4.8 Sources for musical laments for Josquin (died in 1521)

Date	Origin	MS sigla / Printer	Composer	Title	vv
1530s	Italy	PiacFM s.s	Anon.	*Absolve, quaesumus, Domine / Requiem*	4 (7)
1542	Bruges	Cambrai 124	Appenzeller, Benedictus	*Musae Jovis*	4
1545	Antwerp	Susato	Appenzeller, Benedictus	*Musae Jovis*	4
1545	Antwerp	Susato	Gombert	*Musae Jovis / Circumdederunt*	6
1545	Antwerp	Susato	Vinders	*O mors inevitabilis / Requiem*	7
1549	Spain	ToleBC 21	*Josquin*[79]	*Absolve, quaesumus, Domine / Requiem*	6
1550	Antwerp	LeuvHC C1	Josquin	*Fletus date et lamentamini / Requiem*	5
1564	Nurnberg	Montanus and Neuber	Vinders	*O mors inevitabilis / Requiem*	7
1583	Bavaria	MunSB 1536	Vinders	*O mors inevitabilis / Requiem*	7

suggested that it might actually have been a lament for Josquin.[80] David Fallows points out that this setting of *Absolve, quaesumus* is modeled closely on Josquin's own motet-chanson, *Nimphes, nappés / Circumdederunt*, which is also based on a canonic cantus firmus and features a lamenting text without a specific subject.[81] Whether or not Josquin was the author of the six-voice *Absolve, quaesumus* setting or was simply the subject of both motets, the confusion surrounding this complex of intertextuality demonstrates how the following generations interacted with the musical content of his works as commemorations and representative of Josquin the composer.

Like most of his contemporaries, when Josquin died in Condé sur Escault in 1521, he had made provisions for his commemoration after death, including an endowment for the performance of a *Salve* and his

[79] Whatever the name inserted, it would have been highly audible, repeated four times in succession; the first two of these repetitions are for the top voice only and the following two are declaimed in homophony, like an emphatic response.

[80] Ludwig Finscher lists it as a doubtful work in the MGG but it is included as an authentic composition in the *New Josquin Edition*. For a comprehensive discussion of these issues consult Ton Braas' commentary to Vol. 26, *New Josquin Edition*.

[81] Fallows, *Josquin*, 296.

Pater noster / Ave Maria at a statue of the Virgin Mary installed on a wall near his home.[82] He was clearly concerned with being remembered after his death, but music printing had far more influence on his posthumous reputation than did his private, local commemorations. Multiple studies have explored the impact of music printing on Josquin's reputation.[83] In her book *Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print*, Kate van Orden suggests that there was a significant difference between Josquin the person and Josquin the author, proposing that "whereas Josquin clearly did write music, we need to understand his authorship as having been fabricated by others, beginning with those who printed his music."[84] This idea is reinforced by the proliferation of laments for Josquin by composers significantly removed from his personal circle and the continued transmission of these works in the later sixteenth century. These musical laments are indicative of a change in the understanding of a composer and of a new approach to memorializing the works, not the man.

Vinders' *O mors inevitabilis / Requiem* for Josquin

Where the previous laments considered in this chapter seem to evoke the private world of intimate musical gatherings, both in their personal texts and refined musical textures, Vinders' lament can be described by a single word – monumental. The massiveness of the sound of the full seven voices is emphasized by the Introit for the Requiem Mass, presented as a long-note cantus firmus in the tenor primus and also by a second sustained voice in the partbook for the fifth and sixth voices. The sexta voice is the cantus-firmus-bearing part, presenting the chant for the Requiem Introit in long values separated by rests. The so-called "tenor primus" is provided with even longer note values than the Requiem melody in the sexta partbook, but it is not musically related to the chant tune. It is notated in rather than the 2 of the other voices, in order to accommodate the extremely long note values. Although it is provided with the Requiem text, it participates in a quasi-imitation of the chant only at the very end of the lament. The triadic opening and elongated note values might suggest instrumental performance, perhaps on a brass instrument like a trombone. Together these two voices

[82] In Fallows, *Josquin*, 382; and Kellman, "Josquin and the Courts," 208.

[83] To name a few: Schlagel, "A Credible (Mis)Attribution to Josquin," as well as her dissertation "Josquin des Prez and His Motets"; Owens, "How Josquin Became Josquin"; Wegman, "Who was Josquin?"; Higgins, "The Apotheosis of Josquin"; and van Orden, "Josquin des Prez."

[84] Van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book*, 3.

present the sanctifying text of the Requiem Introit in sustained note values and provide the harmonic scaffolding over which the other voices present a laudatory prayer for a great composer. The dramatic Latin text refers to Josquin, not as a man, but primarily as a producer of ecclesiastical harmony, slain by inevitable death, which silenced his creative voice. The opening exclamation and imagery (see lines 1–3 of Table 4.9) seem more indebted to the world of the Italian madrigal than to that of the Latin cantus firmus motet.

Like Josquin's *Nymphes des bois* and *Absolve, quaesumus*, the text provided for all the voices except the tenor primus, which does not carry the cantus firmus, finishes with the chant versicle associated with a burial or commemoration – *Requiescant in pace*.[85] In Vinders' motet the versicle is cleverly incorporated into the text as an incitement to musical lamentation, following the imperative "*dic*" or "say" (see line 7 of the Primary Text in Table 4.9). It is also given a prayer function with the final "Amen," provided in all of the voices except the tenor primus. The text of this motet is cited by an early seventeenth-century chronicler and amateur musician as an epitaph that was on display in the church of St. Goedele in Brussels near a portrait of Josquin.[86] Unfortunately both were destroyed in the late sixteenth century and we are left to wonder which came first: the monument or the monumental musical lament? Were Vinders and the other composers of laments for Josquin responding to the epitaph's request for musical prayers or was the epitaph a physical demonstration of the spontaneous activities of the musical community?

Although very little is known about Jheronimus Vinders, the composer of *O mors inevitabilis*, we do know that he was active in Ghent in the years 1525–26, which indicates that he probably did not have a direct connection to Josquin.[87] His compositions quote the works of Josquin and Benedictus Appenzeller, one of the other composers of a lament for Josquin printed in the *Septiesme livre*, perhaps indicating a connection to Josquin through Appenzeller, as Appenzeller's lament is the only one that can be proven to have existed before Susato published his print, and is the closest chronologically to Josquin's actual death date.[88] It is also possible that, like most sixteenth-century musicians and Susato himself, they were both

[85] For a facsimile of source for this chant see the *Cantus Database,* chant ID 800378, D-Mbs Clm 4304 (1519). The abbreviation for this text, RIP, is often found on tombs.

[86] Haggh, "Josquin's Portrait," 91–110. [87] Jas, "Conflicting Attribution."

[88] Kate van Orden suggested to me that these laments may have been commissioned or at least collected by Susato simply to fill up the final gathering of the partbooks, but they also seem to have been a selling point.

Table 4.9 Text for Vinders, *O mors inevitabilis / Requiem*

	PRIMARY TEXT	
1	O mors inevitabilis	O inevitable death,
	mors amara, mors crudelis,	bitter death, cruel death,
	Josquin des Pres dum necasti,	since you have slain Josquin des Pres,
	illum nobis abstulisti,	you have taken him from us,
5	qui suam per harmoniam	who through his harmony
	illustravit ecclesiam.	illuminated the church.
	Propterea tu musice dic:	Therefore, O musician, say:
	"requiescat in pace." Amen.	"May he rest in peace." Amen.
	SEXTA VOX	
1	Requiem aeternam dona ei Domine,	Grant him eternal rest, Lord,
	et lux perpetua luceat ei.	and may eternal light shine upon him.
	Propterea tu musice [dic]:	Therefore, O musician [say]:
	"requiescat in pace." Amen.	"May he rest in peace." Amen.
	TENOR PRIMUS	
1	Requiem aeternam dona ei Domine,	Grant him eternal rest, Lord,
	et lux perpetua luceat ei.	and may eternal light shine upon him.

interacting with Josquin entirely through his musical productions, honoring the compositions of a "great man" through works of monumental homage.

The first source for this lament is Susato's *Septiesme livre* of 1545. This print, issued twenty-four years after the death of the subject, contains twenty-four chansons, including Josquin's *Nymphes des bois* and *Nymphes nappées*, a lament without a specific subject. The title page advertises the inclusion of three "Epitaphs" for Josquin by diverse authors.[89] Susato commemorates Josquin the composer not only by reissuing his works, but also by disseminating musical prayers for his soul. Within the body of the print these compositions are labeled differently in different partbooks: *monodia* (8), *deploration* (5), *naenia* (3), *epitaphium* (2), and *lamentatio* (2) (tabulated in Table 4.10).

This plethora of names confirms the difficulty of labeling laments of musicians. Despite the desire to unify them as a category of composition these pieces crossed multiple genres and categories in the sixteenth century just as they do now. Even in Josquin's iconic motet-chanson, *Nymphes des*

[89] This print includes five different labels for laments for composers: monodia, epitaphium, deploration, naenia, and lamentatio.

Table 4.10 Labels for laments in Susato's *Septiesme livre* (Antwerp, 1545)

		PARTBOOK TITLES				
Composer	Title	SUPERIUS	CONTRA	TENOR	BASS	QUINTA & SEXTA VOX
Benedictus Appenzeller	*Musae Jovis*[90]	monodia	monodia	monodia	monodia	epitaphium monodia
Gombert	*Musae Jovis / Circumdederunt*	monodia	naenia	naenia	monodia	deploration [CF voice]
Vinders	*O mors inevitabilis / Requiem*	monodia	lamentatio	[none]	lamentatio	[none]
Josquin	*Nymphes des bois*	deploration	deploration	deploration	deploration	epitaphium

bois / Requiem, where we might hope to have a guide, four of the voices, including the Latin-texted tenor, are labeled "deploration," while the fifth voice, bearing the French text, is labeled "epitaphium." It is almost as though Susato wanted to include many different labels, especially Latin ones, for these memorial pieces in order to bolster the renown of the chansons in the volume through the solemn associations of commemorative practices and the evocation of a venerable learned tradition within the musical community. Through this act, the publisher reinforces the changing understanding of the composer as defined through his works and the codification of an affective language for musical mourning in the sixteenth century.

Conclusion

Like the musicians' motets discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, laments for musicians demonstrate musical connections between different generations of composers and provide evidence of a growing sense of history and professional community among musicians. Often the wills of composers, including Du Fay, Josquin, and the lesser-known Jean de Saint Gille, leave instructions and income to ensure the musical remembrance of their souls through the performance of polyphonic compositions of their own fashioning.[91] In his recent article on epigrams on portraits of humanists

[90] The text used by Appenzeller and Gombert is also printed on a separate folio at the end of the tenor partbook, where it is labeled as a naenia.

[91] For Du Fay see Houdoy, *Histoire artistique*, 409–14; for Josquin see Kellman, "Josquin and the Courts," 26–28; and for Jean de Saint Gille see Wegman, "Testament of Jean de Saint Gille," 26–29.

in the early sixteenth century, Harry Vredeveld discusses the centrality of "voice" as a representative of the ideas and mind of an individual – an evocation of the absence of voice in the laudatory portraits, which instead will live on in the humanists' written and even printed works.[92] In contrast, the individual musical voices of the deceased musicians could be evoked through their compositions, making them powerful memorial tools. The creation of musicians' motets and laments are self-conscious reflections of the late medieval preoccupation with remembering and being remembered.

The laments of Du Fay and Ockeghem for Binchois, and of Obrecht for his father are all highly personalized and defined by intertextuality and generic diversity. These musical features draw attention to the connection between subject and composer and set the stage for the more emotive works of the next generation, including Josquin's *Nymphes de bois / Requiem* and La Rue's *Plorer, gemir, crier / Requiem*. In mixing languages and musical traits of different genres these laments mirror the developing valuation and recognition of individual compositional style. Although most of the laments of the following generations conformed to the cantus firmus motet genre and the conventions of memorial music for obituary services, these earlier pieces established musical markers of mourning that were exploited by later generations, like the use of Phrygian mode and the Requiem Introit as a cantus firmus. At the same time the development of polyphonic music printing allowed the musical works of individuals to remain current for many years beyond the life of the individual, through broader distribution and reprinting. Thus, affective features of Obrecht and Josquin's laments were codified through print, and the musical "voice" of Josquin was remembered far beyond the death of the man, allowing his passing to be mourned by multiple generations of musicians.[93] The various musical laments for Josquin that entered circulation many years after his actual death in 1521 represent the reception and honoring of his works, gestures of homage rather than expressions of personal connections.

Classical theory and references in these musicians' laments parallel developments in music theory, to be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. Composers were reinforcing the idea of a continuous musical tradition stretching back to the Greeks by means of explicit invocation of affect through mode (Obrecht and Josquin) and classical imagery in the texts

[92] Vredeveld, "Humanist Portrait Epigraph," 520.

[93] Including Josquin and Obrecht's motets, there are at least ten different motets that use the Requiem Introit as a cantus firmus.

(Compere and Busnoys). Like Rogier van der Weyden's overt references to van Eyck's portrait of Chancellor Rolin, and also van der Weyden's depiction of a historic moment for the painterly profession, these composers drew their community together through the evocation of a venerable musical tradition and articulated the collective desire to be remembered after death.

PART II

Music about Music

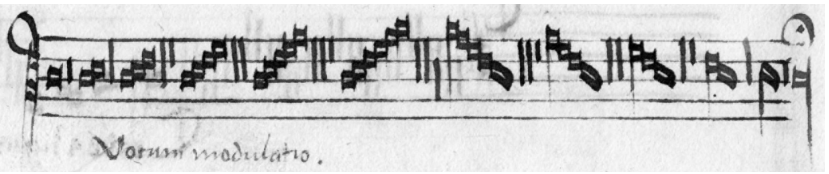
5 Paintings about Painting and Music about Music-Making

Closely related to the musicians' motets and laments discussed in Part I is a group of pieces that display aspects of abstract music theory in their compositional framework: music about music. Some of these are among the most fascinating and well-known compositions from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. They cover a range of genres and embody a variety of theoretical principles, including lengthy cantus firmus Masses or motets composed over an abstract musical device like the hexachord, as in Josquin's *Ut Phebi radiis* (see Chapter 7) or feature a motto made of solmization syllables, as in Josquin's *Missa La sol fa re mi*. Others make reference to fundamental aspects of Greek music theory, such as Busnoys' *Anthoni usque limina*, while still others, like Ockeghem's *Missa Prolationum*, are obvious demonstrations of complicated or comprehensive mensural or proportional structures (Chapter 6). While many famous examples, such as Josquin's *Illibata dei virgo nutrix*, also set self-referential texts and were discussed in Part I of the book, others are generic prayers or Mass settings composed around abstract musical ideas or mottos. In some cases, these pieces are dependent on idiosyncratic treatises: Obrecht's *Regina celi*, for example, demonstrates the cumulative proportions in Tinctoris' *Proportionale musices*.[1] Despite the variety of genres and styles, these works are unified by overt references to the structures and concepts fundamental to the liberal discipline of *musica*. While many of these pieces are individually famous, they have not as a group been considered as expressions of professional identity or as representatives of the concept of self-referentiality in music.

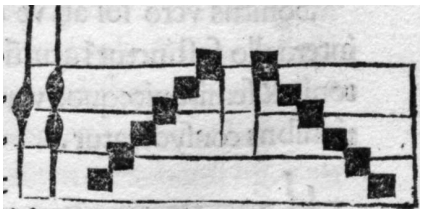
Previous scholars have labeled these works "didactic" or "pedagogical" because they incorporate elements included in music-theory texts, both pedagogical textbooks and more academic treatises, into their compositional structures.[2] These words, "didactic" and "pedagogical," carry

[1] Hewitt, "A Study in Proportions"; and Wegman, "Obrecht and Erasmus."

[2] Perkins, "Ockeghem's *Prenez sur moi*"; George Houle in the introduction to his edition of Ockeghem, *Ockeghem's Missa Cuiusvis Toni*; Gallagher, "Petrucci's *Motetti a cinque* and the Five-Voice Motet circa 1500," a paper given at the conference "The Motet around 1500" organized by Thomas Schmidt-Beste, although it was not included in the proceedings volume. More recently Jesse Rodin has called Ockeghem's *Missa Prolationum* and *Cuiusvis toni* "his



a Tenor from Isaac, "O decus ecclesiae," MS Berlin 40021, fol. 180.
Photograph © Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv



b Example from Gaffurius, *Practica musice* (Milan, 1496), fol. a v.
Photograph © Newberry Library

Figure 5.1 Isaac's *cantus firmus* compared to an example from Gaffurius, *Practica musice*

associations of either simplified music, easy for an amateur to digest while he or she gains technical facility, or complex exercises for building technique, often at the expense of musical form and continuity. These works do not fit those categories.[3] In these pieces the influence of music theory is generally displayed on the structural level, not as an exercise for beginners. For example, the cantus firmus of Isaac's motet *O decus ecclesiae* is a simple exposition of the hexachord in long note values (see Figure 5.1). Visually it is almost identical to examples of the hexachord or the interval of the sixth from the introductory section of any number of music-theory treatises, or those displayed on the palm of innumerable Guidonian hands, and is therefore easily recognizable to the amateur or student.[4]

In contrast to the simplicity of the tenor, the other four voices are far too complicated to be interpreted or performed by a beginner. For instance,

speculative masses," pointing out their connection to speculative music-theoretical discourse. See *Josquin's Rome*, 235.

[3] Wolfgang Fuhrmann comes independently to a similar conclusion about these types of pieces. See "A Humble Beginning?", 28–30.

[4] For an example of a hand from Vitruvius with a hexachord inscribed on it see Figure 7.1.

just the first staff of music for the bassus part on fol. 181 of Berlin 40021 contains complicated ligatures including wide leaps and sustained notes before moving into passages of much more rapid note values. It also incorporates accidentals and long periods of rest, requiring careful counting to negotiate the reentry of this singer into the musical texture. The discrepancy between the level of difficulty in the tenor and bass indicates that this piece could not be successfully performed by actual students or amateurs. It is conceivable that a student might be able to sing the hexachordal tenor, especially with help from a professional, but it is still unclear how this exercise would teach anything valuable about the hexachord itself. Although there is clearly a connection between this kind of work and contemporaneous discourse about music theory, the terms "didactic" and "pedagogical" are misleading because they imply an educational function – these pieces are far too complicated for performance by any student still mastering the basic musical lessons that they display.

A superior way to understand the musical features of such compositions drawn from music theory or pedagogy are as emblems of the science of music. In this way the composer self-reflexively draws attention to himself as the creator of the work in question through reference to the tools of the trade he has mastered. In Chapter 1 I argued that in many ways musicians' motets and musicians' laments were the musical equivalents of the self-referential paintings of St. Luke in the act of drawing or painting the Virgin that were intended for display on altars dedicated to guilds of painters. Personal identification of individual creators is a prominent feature of both – while musicians are named in the texts of these compositions, the paintings often feature self-portraits of the artists. These paintings were understood to be the articulation of the continuity of a venerable artistic tradition, reaching back to St. Luke himself, that of the Christian proto-artist. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century artists also expressed corporate identity in their St. Luke paintings by depicting contemporary practices and specific tools and techniques of the craft of painting (see the final column of Table 5.1). In the following chapters I will show how compositions foregrounding specific, basic aspects of music-making, such as comprehensive mensural or modal structures and hexachord themes, are actually presenting the musical "tools of the trade," and promoting the act of composition as a profession to a broad audience of fellow professionals as well as to powerful patrons and humanists.

As noted in Chapter 1, Rogier van der Weyden's famous and influential painting of St. Luke in the act of drawing the Virgin (reproduced as Figure 1.1), presented the professional concerns of the painters' guild

Table 5.1 Tools of the trade in St. Luke paintings and self-referential music

Guild paintings	Music about music
Depictions of St. Luke portraying:	Motets and Masses structured around:
– Brushes and pigments	– Comprehensive structures
– Techniques like silverpoint	– Hexachords
– The artist's workshop	– Solmization mottos

and community by incorporating a number of self-referential features, including a self-portrait, an homage to a famous painter of the previous generation, and depictions of the actual tools and techniques of fifteenth-century portraiture.[5] This painting and the many related paintings of St. Luke for other painters' guilds function in the same way as many fifteenth-century musicians' motets and laments, such as the pieces discussed in Chapters 2, 3, and 4. Just as Dufay included personal tropes in a standard Marian prayer, Rogier grafted his own face onto the figure of St. Luke, incorporating concern for his personal salvation into a preexistent saint's story.

Rogier represented St. Luke in the act of drawing rather than actually painting, showing how an artist really worked on a painted portrait of an elite patron and depicting the specialized tools and techniques of the painterly profession within the guise of an historical subject. Rogier brought the image of St. Luke into his own time by showing the saint in the act of making a quick silverpoint sketch, a fairly innovative technique; an artist could then take the sketch back to his studio in order to complete the arduous process of making an oil painting without taking up too much of his elite sitter's time. This draws the viewer's attention to the artists' skill not only in its use of a specific technique, by means of which the carefully drafted features of Mary's face emerge from the ephemeral thin white page, but also in depicting this action as a *mise-en-abyme*, both a drawing in a painting and a painting about a painterly technique. I argue that this is similar to processes of mensural or modal transformation utilized by Ockeghem, Petrus Domarto, and others. These compositional techniques, based on multiple sounding realizations of a single written line of music, draw the viewer's attention to the skill of the composer through the

[5] Marrow, "Artistic Identity in Early Netherlandish Painting." For a fuller discussion of his arguments in relation to self-referential texts see Chapter 1.

materiality of notated music and the multiple levels of interpretation necessary for creating a compositional object.[6]

Rogier van der Weyden's image stands at the head of a tradition of paintings depicting St. Luke as a contemporary painter. Later artists painting this same scene for other painters' guilds in different locations were clearly influenced by Rogier's work and embellished the theme of the tools of the trade by representing the activity of St. Luke in their own way. A similar painting associated with the studio of Dieric Bouts also depicts St. Luke in the act of drawing (see Figure 5.2).[7] Bouts also provides a glimpse through a doorway on the right edge of the panel into a small chamber, ostensibly representing the artist's studio, where a painting in progress is visible on an easel.[8]

At least sixty years later Colijn de Coter (see Figure 5.3) includes more varied paraphernalia of the painter's profession and moves the action away from a courtly location and fully into the artist's studio.[9] Pigments and brushes of various sizes, prepared for cleaning, are visible on a table behind St. Luke.[10] The saint, again presented as a self-portrait, is in the act of painting, steadying the right hand by holding the brush against a wooden dowel held in the left, and stabilizing the left against the frame.[11] In the background a man is depicted in the act of preparing the wood for the

[6] These compositions will be discussed in Chapter 6. Examples include Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus*, d'Amerval's *Missa Dixerunt discipuli*, the Credo of Brumel's *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*, and of course Ockeghem's *Missa cuiusvis toni*.

[7] In this case the intended message about the painterly process is almost overemphasized, causing the painter to skew the angle of St. Luke's sketch towards the viewer, and forcing St. Luke into an extremely awkward and unlikely position.

[8] In van der Weyden's painting, as in more traditional representations of this scene, the side chamber is filled with books and paper, representative of St. Luke's role as a scholar and author of a gospel text.

[9] Till H. Borchert argues that this painting is a copy of a work by Robert Campin that might precede Rogier van der Weyden's painting. He discusses an interesting triptych by Derick Bagaert that is closely related to de Coter's image and incorporates the two primary phases of the painter's craft, woodworking and drawing, on the two wings. The figures on the wings are clearly included to show the different stages of an artist's development, first as a young boy working in the studio and then as an apprentice, who is drawing, but not wearing the outfit of a fully accredited practitioner or master. "The Case for Corporate Identification," 69–74.

[10] Full image available on *Artstor*, http://library.artstor.org. Oil on canvas, 135 x 108 cm, Church of St. Louis, Vieure, France.

[11] For a discussion of the general steps in preparing a panel painting see Harbison, *The Mirror of the Artist*, 70–75. Another Guild of St. Luke painting by Jan de Beer includes an even more detailed depiction of the artist's studio and home. Although it has been badly damaged it is clear that the artist emphasizes the difference in status between the self-referential figure of St. Luke and a bare-legged apprentice through their dress and placement, similar to the example by Bagaert, discussed in footnote 9.

Figure 5.2 Detail from Dieric Bouts, *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin and Child, c.* 1440–75. The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, County Durham, England
Photograph © The Bowes Museum

panel and frame, an activity essential to the process of creating a quality product.[12]

In place of the brushes, easels, pigments, and techniques depicted in scenes of St. Luke, composers of the late fifteenth century used abstract concepts of music theory, like hexachords, tetrachords, and Pythagorean intervals, to represent the specific tools used by professional musicians to craft their polyphonic Masses and motets. These emblems of music-making emphasize the materiality of a real musical composition by representing an aspect of basic

[12] Borchert points out that the woodworker may represent St. Joseph, who was also a carpenter, but this does not negate the clear implications of woodworking for the profession of panel painting. "The Case for Corporate Identification," 71.

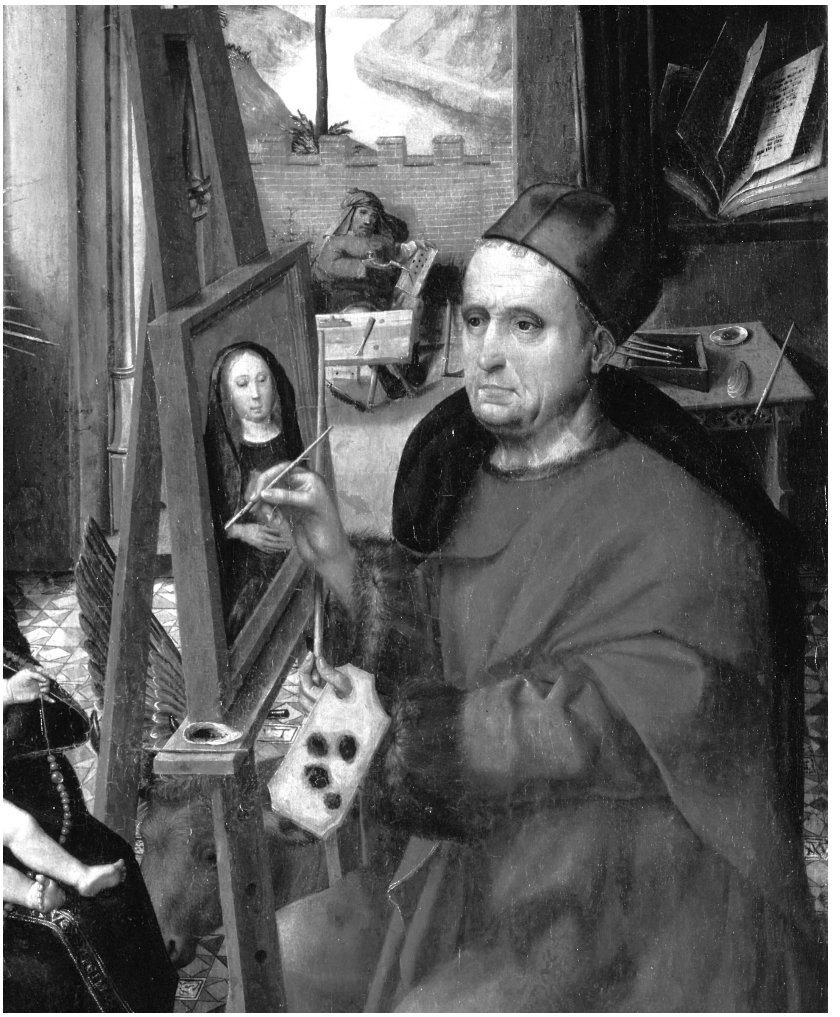


Figure 5.3 Detail from Colijn de Coter, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin Mary, c.* 1500. Oil on canvas, 135 x 108 cm, Church of St. Louis, Vieure, France
Photograph © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY

musical instruction on the page of that composition, and, in some cases, by making it audible in performance. Whether or not a patron was skilled enough to perform Isaac's *O decus ecclesiae*, he or she could certainly recognize and appreciate the fundamental simplicity and symmetry of the hexachordal tenor as presented in manuscript and print sources.[13]

[13] Possibly a patron of dubious musical skills might be brought into the performance by singing along with a professional on the tenor. Jardine and Grafton have argued for courtly reading as a semipublic act, so perhaps music reading could also be understood in these parameters.

Recent scholarship into the history of reading has revealed that early modern readers interacted with texts in a very dynamic way.[14] Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton argue that reading texts in the Renaissance was "conducted under conditions of strenuous attentiveness; it employed job-related equipment (both machinery and technique) designed for efficient absorption and processing of the matter read; it was normally carried out in the company of a colleague or student; and was a public performance, rather than a private meditation, in its aims and character."[15] They discuss how a nobleman or prince would employ a reader to interpret and mediate the texts that he possessed. Some libraries even had special revolving bookholders that allowed quick cross-referencing in multiple large tomes.[16]

I argue that we should understand compositions incorporating comprehensive or emblematic aspects of music theory within the context of the semipublic reading practices of courtly, humanistic scholars. Since many extant manuscripts of compositions and theoretical texts were clearly intended for courtly patrons, not necessarily proficient performers, it seems appropriate to assume that they would have been read or viewed with the help of a professional reader of music, a scholar-performer.[17] These readers, we must assume, fell within a spectrum of musical and literary skill, including proficient musical performance and probably also erudition in liberal disciplines including *musica*. In this environment emblems or "tools" of the musical trade provided points of contact between generally accessible knowledge about music as a liberal discipline and actual musical compositions. For example, the complex proportions demonstrated by Obrecht in his *Regina celi* are represented in the manuscript both with numbers and with Latin text. Any literate person, regardless of musical skill, could read and contemplate Obrecht's mathematical

[14] Grafton, "Humanist as Reader"; Jardine and Grafton, "How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy"; Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*. For an excellent introduction to literature on the history of reading see the articles found in Cavallo, Guglielmo, and Chartier, eds, *A History of Reading in the West*, .

[15] "How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy," 30–31.

[16] The most famous example is the bookwheel of Agostino Ramelli, which was itself a display of mathematical prowess. See discussion in Grafton, "Humanist as Reader," 209; and Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, 22–23.

[17] Examples of this kind range from the elaborately prepared *Medici Codex*, a gift from Pope Leo X to his nephew, to the compilations of the theoretical works of Tinctoris, copied at the Neapolitan court. The sources of Tinctoris' theoretical writings are discussed in Woodley, "Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS II 4147," available online: http://stoa.org/tinctoris/tinctoris.html.

gymnastics and the way they reflect the ideas presented in the related treatise by Tinctoris, *Proportionale musices*.

In contrast to van der Weyden's emphasis on good draftsmanship and the respectful artist/patron dynamic, de Coter emphasizes the importance of good workmanship at all of the different stages of a painting, from preparation of the panel and paints to the very act of applying paint to the wood; only in this way could a durable, high-quality product be created. While de Coter's emphasis on good craftsmanship can be interpreted as reflecting professional pride among artists, it also makes a clear statement to potential buyers and elite patrons who could view guild paintings displayed on the side altars of prominent urban churches. Obrecht's reliance on Tinctoris might be intended to assure potential patrons, knowledgeable about this treatise, of the quality of his own craftsmanship. In contrast, Ockeghem's comprehensive presentation of mensuration canons at progressive pitch intervals in his *Missa Prolationum*, covering both pitch and rhythm as compositional parameters, made a more universally recognizable statement about his command of the entirety of musical practice.

A St. Luke scene for the painter's guild at Malines, painted by Jan Gossaert in *c*. 1513–15, alludes to Rogier van der Weyden's arrangement of the painterly theme, but contemporizes it by surrounding St. Luke with classicizing references to the art and architecture of antiquity. The saintly artist, who has been identified as a self-portrait of Gossaert, makes his sketch within a pseudo-Roman space, surrounded by classical statuary.[18] Thus, we can see visual artists actively aligning themselves with the venerable tradition of painting through intertextual references, but also through explicit connections to the artistic creations of antiquity. Similarly, music theorists cited the authority of antique authors in the margins of their treatises. For instance, in the printed version of *Practica musice* (Milan, 1496) Gaffurius includes marginal references to Pope Gregory, Virgil, and Guido.[19] A composer such as Busnoys might evoke Pythagorean ratios in his motet praising Ockeghem (see Chapters 3 and 6), while Brumel and Ghiselin presented the hexachord as a Christian improvement on the classical tetrachord (Chapter 7).

Like the self-reflexive paintings of St. Luke that were publicly displayed on the side altars of painters' guilds, music about music communicates directly with both the community of artists and with nonprofessional patrons about the profession of music. St. Luke paintings were the

[18] Available on *Web Gallery of Art*, web, www.wga.hu. [19] See fol. a iii.

symbolic center and public site of the ceremonies of the corporate body of painters, viewable by the larger community of the city as well as by visitors from abroad. While self-reflexive compositions were in nature more private, traveling in fascicles and preserved in large manuscripts and prints, they similarly acted to make any viewer aware that they were the physical representation of a musical object, created by the work and mind of an accomplished individual. Viewed within a broader tradition of music-making that included extensive puzzle canons, complex manipulations of popular tunes, and ambiguous notations, these pieces emerge as tools not for teaching music, but for promoting the role of the composer, and that were intended to appeal to patrons who were interested in music as a liberal discipline, but possibly not very skilled in musical practice.[20]

Considered as a group and as a part of the cultural move toward an early modern concept of the individual artist, pieces of music about music can give us a glimpse into how musicians used music theory to validate and elevate the status of composed music in literate humanistic circles, through reference to the quadrivial discipline of *musica*. The following section examines how different musical representations of music – comprehensive structures from contemporary music theory and Greek terminology (Chapter 6), and various approaches to solmization syllables through hexachords (Chapter 7) – can help us to understand musicians' own agency in the process of professionalization and the establishment of the early modern concept of the composer.

[20] On the puzzle canon and the culture of obscurity see Schiltz, "Visual Pictorialism" and *Music and Riddle Culture*.

6 Simple Lessons? Music Theory as Emblem of Composition

Twelve interrelated works, composed during an approximately thirty-year period from 1460 to the 1490s, use aspects of music theory in their compositional framework (see Table 6.1). Within this group there are two kinds of compositions, those that display a comprehensive approach to an abstract musical idea, like modality or mensuration, and those that demonstrate or hinge on key terms from Greek music theory, often in canonic instructions.

Although self-reflexive musical features were not new in the mid-fifteenth century, being present in much of the fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century *ars subtilior* repertoire, in the decades after 1460 many pieces with self-referential musical features were composed, alongside the compositions described in Chapters 2, 3, and 4.[1]

Self-referential features were applied differently according to generic norms, but they always highlight the composition as a made object. These works range from large-scale cyclic Masses, like Ockeghem's *Missa Prolationum*, to short settings of phrases of plainchant, like Obrecht's two-voice *Regina celi* from the unnumbered Segovia manuscript (SegC s.s.). These compositions are contemporary with the theoretical works of Tinctoris and reflect an awareness or interest in issues addressed by music theorists. Many of the composers, and sometimes these very works, are mentioned in Tinctoris' treatises, reinforcing the impression of a dialogic relationship between theory and practice, a point to be discussed in more detail below. Conversely, a few of the compositions seem almost constructed to prove the theoretical principles described by Tinctoris and others. For the most part these pieces do not make direct reference to solmization syllables or the hexachord, the exceptions being Brumel's hexachord Mass and the rubrics for Josquin's "Vive le roy." By foregrounding the

[1] For more information on musicians' motets and the Chantilly Codex see Chapter 3. For more information on musicians' motets in the fourteenth century see Hirshberg, "Criticism of Music and Music as Criticism"; Stone, "Self-Reflexive Songs"; Cumming, "Music for the Doge"; Bent, *Two 14th-Century Motets in Praise of Music*; and the commentary and edition by Harrison of these kinds of works, *Musicorum Collegio*.

Table 6.1 Pieces with comprehensive compositional structures or based on terms from Greek theory, 1460 to 1490s

Time	Composer	Title	Genres	Structures or Terms
1462	Petrus Domarto	*Missa Spiritus almus*	Cantus firmus Mass	Mensural transformation
1465–80	Busnoys	*Anthoni usque limina*	Motet with constructed tenor	Greek note names
1467	Busnoys	*In hydraulis*	Motet with constructed tenor	Pythagorean intervals
1470	Eloy d'Amerval	*Missa Dixerunt discipuli*	Cantus firmus Mass	Mensural transformation
1470s?	Roelkin	"De tous biens playne"	2-v song setting	Utilizes the entire gamut
1470s	Tinctoris	*Difficiles alios delectat pangere cantus*	3-v motet in a treatise	Aristotle and Cicero
1476–77	Ockeghem	*Missa cuiusvis toni*	Cyclic Mass	Modal transformation
1480s?	Obrecht	*Inter preclarissimas virtutes / Estote fortes in bello*	4-v motet with cantus firmus	Mensural transformation
1480s	Obrecht	*Regina celi*	2-v motet with cantus firmus	Comprehensive proportions
1480s	Ockeghem	*Missa prolationum*	Cyclic Mass	Mensuration canons, intervals
1493	Brumel	*Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*	Cantus firmus Mass	Mensural transformation
1503	Josquin	"Vive le roy"	4-v song with cantus firmus	"tetrachord"

scientific aspects of the act of composition and contemporaneous music's links with Greek music theory, these pieces proclaim composition as a liberal art, worthy of consideration in humanistic circles.

The works based on comprehensive structures include some of the most famous pieces from the late fifteenth century, particularly Ockeghem's two Masses from the Chigi Codex (*Prolationum* and *Cuiusvis toni*). In these two Masses Ockeghem covers a lot of theoretical ground – mensuration canons that systematically explore all the possible intervals from the unison to the octave, and the realization of four-voice polyphonic structures in multiple modal orientations. These works are so well known for their rigorous approaches to complex compositional structures, both temporal and harmonic, that they have brought Ockeghem a reputation for being

more of a mathematician than an artist.[2] The wealth of literature on these two pieces covers multiple centuries, from the sixteenth-century treatises of Glarean and Zarlino to Burney's classic text, and finally to the multiple articles and editions published in the last twenty years transcribing these works in various modal and temporal adaptations.[3]

In his article on Ockeghem's clefless puzzle canon, "Prenez sur moi," Leeman Perkins proposed that this complex chanson, along with his Masses *Cuiusvis toni* and *Prolationum*, "should be studied . . . as pedagogical exemplifications, respectively, of solmization, modal representation, and mensural practice in polyphonic composition."[4] He argued that they are the "practical, musical equivalent of the theoretical treatises penned by his contemporaries," including Tinctoris.[5] Perkins based his argument for the didactic function of "Prenez sur moi" and the two Masses on the inclusion of "Prenez sur moi" in a number of sixteenth-century German pedagogical and theoretical prints, citing the "longevity" of this tradition. At the same time, he recognizes that there is a significant temporal, geographical, and cultural distance between the two original courtly sources for the chanson and the later prints.[6] The authors of these treatises were compiling musical examples from older repertoire, often fifty to over a hundred years removed from their original cultural milieu, and they regularly reinterpreted musical works from previous generations to accommodate their own pedagogical and ideological needs.[7]

[2] Starting in the sixteenth century, when Coclico lists Ockeghem amongst the *mathematici*. In revisionist articles musicologists have sought to save Ockeghem's reputation and argue for the artistic merit of his works. See Dragan Plamenac's article on Ockeghem in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Vol. 9 (1961); Eckert, "Canon and Variation"; L. Bernstein, "Ockeghem the Mystic" and also "*Singende Seele* or *unsingbar*?"

[3] For a select bibliography of writings on these pieces, see the commentary to the editions by Jaap van Benthem, *Ockeghem: Masses and Mass Sections* (1994), vol III. Modern editions include *Ockeghem: Collected Works*, ed. by Plamenac and Wexler; *Ockeghem's Missa Cuiusvis Toni*, ed. by Houle; and *Ockeghem: Missa Prolacionum*, ed. by Condon.

[4] Perkins, "Ockeghem's *Prenez sur moi*," 155–56.

[5] Perkins, "Ockeghem's *Prenez sur moi*," 156.

[6] Perkins, "Ockeghem's *Prenez sur moi*," 123. He also points out that in some cases the theorists' interpretations of the canon are based on a "fundamental misunderstanding of the composer's intentions," 126.

[7] Ruth DeFord has shown that it is very likely that Sebald Heyden created the complex proportional signs in Isaac's *Choralis constantinus* as examples for his treatise and that they do not reflect the intentions of the composer. "Who Devised the Proportional Notation in Isaac's *Choralis Constantinus*?"

A variety of pieces or segments of pieces from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were used as musical examples in treatises from the mid-sixteenth century, including over thirty references to pieces included on my list of music about music.[8] It seems likely that although it was fairly widely known in the sixteenth century, Ockeghem's *Missa Prolationum* was primarily studied from the small segments of this larger work that were preserved as examples in German music-theory treatises.[9] Curiously, pieces of music based on abstract ideas of music theory were not usually used to elucidate the principles that they seem to demonstrate. For example, in his treatise *De arte canendi* Sebald Heyden mentions Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales* five times, but not one of those is a reference to solmization syllables or the hexachord. Instead it is primarily used as an example of mensural structures.[10] Similarly, a section from Brumel's hexachord Mass, a cantus firmus Mass using the entire progression of the seven hexachords in the Guidonian gamut, is not included in the treatise as a demonstration of the hexachord. Heyden used an excerpt of the Mass, the Agnus Dei I, to demonstrate his own idiosyncratic theory of tactus, although this particular section includes an exposition of the hexachord in both the superius bearing the cantus firmus and the opening of the tenor. Heyden even altered the original mensural signs in these voices to prove his point.[11]

De arte canendi is also the first treatise to include Ockeghem's "Prenez sur moi" but it was published at least fifty years after Ockeghem composed his clefless chanson. Heyden was publishing for a market of literate musical amateurs, quite different from Ockeghem"s original small audience of courtly singers and listeners. The "clefless" canon is the final example in a group of twelve short pieces grouped together to provide the reader with solmization practice. Many of these examples include cryptic instructions

[8] For more information on examples in theory treatises see Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*.

[9] This is not surprising since the whole Mass was not distributed in print. It is preserved in the Chigi codex and WienNB 11883. Zarlino mentions it but he clearly does not know the whole piece. It seems that it was known but that it was difficult to get a copy, as it is one of a number of items requested by Sebastian Virdung when his royal student was traveling in France in 1504, discussed below. Wallner, "Sebastian Virdung."

[10] Heyden, *De arte canendi*, trans. by C. Miller, the Benedictus as an example of diminution using a reverse semicircle, 93; Agnus Dei II as example of Heyden's tactus theory, 98; Kyrie I and Christe Eleison as examples of augmentation, 106; and the Osanna as an example of the seventh tone, 129.

[11] See Heyden, *De arte canendi*, 82–83. Heyden's *tactus* theory and its reception are discussed by Ruth DeFord, who also lists the pieces in which he has altered the notation in footnote 47 of her article "Sebald Heyden (1499–1561): The First Historical Musicologist?", 11.

for realizing melodic lines as canons and resolutions. Perkins points out that Heyden provided solmization syllables on the staff before the beginning of the piece, strengthening the association of Ockeghem's canon with solmization, shown just after the mensuration sign.[12] What Perkins fails to acknowledge is that every piece in this section is a canon or canonic section of a larger work, and all are provided with solmization syllables at the beginning of the staff. Solmization syllables were included by Heyden to aid the amateur in remembering where to mutate in each example, as part of his own pedagogical program, not Ockeghem's.[13] These diverse pieces, some of them segments of cyclic Masses by Josquin, de Orto, and Obrecht, are adapted to the didactic function of this segment of the treatise. Although the Mass sections were originally intended for performance by professional musicians during the celebration of Mass, because they are canonic or fugal they were easily incorporated and reinterpreted to serve the pedagogical needs of Heyden's consumers, musical amateurs with an interest in *obscuritas* and in improving their sight-singing proficiency.[14] Although solmization syllables are certainly helpful tools in resolving the puzzle posed by Ockeghem in "Prenez sur moi," there are other options and the syllables are not completely necessary for understanding or performing this piece.[15] The inclusion of Ockeghem's canon in this section on solmization does not indicate the composer's didactic intention, but simply Heyden's observation that it could be used as an interesting and challenging lesson in the application of solmization.[16]

While I disagree with Perkins' use of the term "pedagogical" to describe these works, the idea that they are the "practical, musical equivalent of the theoretical treatises penned by his contemporaries" is intriguing, especially if we consider that music-theoretical works influenced by the humanistic tradition, especially those of Tinctoris, were doing important cultural work beyond teaching music.[17] The first mention of both of Ockeghem's theoretically based Masses, *Missa Prolationum* and *Missa Cuiusvis toni*, is in a letter from the theorist Sebastian Virdung to his noble patron and

[12] "Ockeghem's *Prenez sur moi*," 134–35.

[13] For an explanation and discussion of mutation and some much simpler examples, see Chapter 7.

[14] Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture*.

[15] Stefano Mengozzi has recently argued against associating "clefless" compositions and those using *fa* clef with solmization entirely. "'Clefless' Notation."

[16] It is particularly challenging because a correct performance requires that each singer place the semitones in different places, so each singer must use a different sequence of syllables, hence its placement at the end of the section.

[17] Perkins, "Ockeghem's *Prenez sur moi*," 156.

student.[18] In his letter Virdung asks his patron to acquire a number of theory treatises and pieces of music that exhibit impressive compositional prowess, like fugues or the mensural and modal complexities of Ockeghem's Masses.[19] This shows that, by 1504 at least, Ockeghem's Masses were already valued for their association with music theory and acted as a worthy point of discourse between a professional musical scholar and his noble student/patron.

Pieces with Comprehensive Compositional Structures

In order to fully appreciate Ockeghem's theoretically based Masses and their cultural significance we must recognize that they are part of a larger group of compositions based on comprehensive expositions of theoretical structures, as shown in Table 6.2. Not surprisingly, this corpus is primarily made up of cyclic Masses with a few notable cantus firmus motets. In performance, the Mass cycle was a single aspect of a ritual action, existing alongside plainchant, readings, prayers, and ceremonial movement. The length and generic expectation for cyclic unification of the five movements challenged composers of the mid-fifteenth century to develop a variety of techniques with which to establish musical unity while maintaining variety and conforming to function.

Though many cyclic Masses manipulate a sacred or secular cantus firmus to create variety between movements, in the pieces considered here the compositional artifice becomes itself the primary unifying element of the Mass, thus foregrounding abstract elements of music theory. In order to limit the number of pieces, I have not included Masses that feature extremely complex manipulations of a famous tune, like *L'homme armé*, since this family of works constitutes its own, although certainly related, tradition.[20]

[18] Wallner, "Sebastian Virdung," 97–98.

[19] He asks specifically for *Practica musice* by Gaffurius and for a manuscript treatise on prolation that is either by Tinctoris or Ockeghem. Wallner, "Sebastian Virdung," 91.

[20] For instance, Josquin's *L'homme armé sexti toni* exposes the hexachord in an internal duo section of the *Sanctus* and Jesse Rodin has recently pointed out that de Orto states the *L'homme armé* tune on every pitch of the hard hexachord in his Mass. *Josquin's Rome*, 223. For more information on the *L'homme armé* tradition also see Perkins, "The *L'homme armé* Masses"; Prizer, "Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries"; Haggh, "The Archives of the Order of the Golden Fleece"; Haar, "Palestrina as Historicist"; Warmington, "The Ceremony of the Armed Man"; and Burn, "Imitation, Competition and the *L'homme armé* Tradition"; C. Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior*; Kirkman, *Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass*.

Table 6.2 Pieces based on comprehensive structures

Composer	**Title**	**Comments**
Petrus Domarto	*Missa Spiritus almus*	– Mensural transformation of a cantus firmus, the four normal mensurations plus ⊂ 3
Eloy d'Amerval	*Missa Dixerunt discipuli*	– Mensural transformation of a cantus firmus – Includes all sixteen mensurations discussed by Tinctoris
Brumel	*Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*	– Mensural transformation in the Credo – Uses the gamut (all seven hexachords) as a cantus firmus
Obrecht	*Inter preclarissimas virtutes / Estote fortes in bello*	– Mensural transformation of cantus firmus, all four normally used mensuration signs, plus ₵
Ockeghem	*Missa Cuiusvis toni*	– Single notation can be realized in multiple modes, modal transformation
Ockeghem	*Missa Prolationum*	– Mensuration canons using the four most common mensuration signs – Canons at all of the intervals from the unison to the octave
Obrecht	*Regina celi*	– Includes all the proportions as they are discussed in Tinctoris
Roelkin	"De tous biens playne"	– Newly composed voice is presented on a *scala decemlinealis*

The first four pieces in Table 6.2 (Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus*, d'Amerval's *Missa Dixerunt discipuli*, Brumel's *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*, and Obrecht's motet *Inter preclarissimas virtutes*) subject a single notated cantus firmus to multiple mensural configurations. This practice is called mensural transformation in modern discourse and the tenor is said to be homographic.[21] Motets, with their historic relation to strict structural organization, are apt to contain complex mensural or proportional changes.[22] Since motets, unlike cyclic Masses, often set original texts, in order to be included on my list these motets must either make reference to

[21] Wegman cites Reinhard Strohm as the source of the term "mensural transformation" in Wegman, "Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus*," 244. For another approach see Bent, "What Is Isorhythm?", 122.

[22] For an exploration of this term see Bent, "What Is Isorhythm?"

specific musicians in their texts or hinge upon terms or concepts from music theory in their textual rubrics.[23]

The four remaining pieces demonstrate different but related procedures. The multiple different modern editions and interpretations of Ockeghem's Masses mentioned above prove that notational ambiguity and compositional virtuosity are central aspects of these works. The *Missa Prolationum* also derives multiple musical voices from a single notated voice, but this time via mensuration canons. It is comprehensive with respect to two basic parameters of fifteenth-century musical notation – mensuration and intervals. Using two notated lines Ockeghem creates four-voice polyphony, indicating that each notated voice should be performed simultaneously according to two different mensuration signs. *Missa Prolationum* also demonstrates a comprehensive approach to pitch by using an expanding series of melodic intervals of imitation for the canons in each different section of the Mass. Like the homographic cantus firmus of a Mass, or a motet that uses mensural transformation, all the notated voices of Ockeghem's *Missa Cuiusvis toni* can be realized in multiple ways, but in this case the transformational aspect is that of pitch relationships rather than rhythmic ones. I have coined the term modal transformation to emphasize the similarity of Ockeghem's Mass to the other pieces that exploit a similar principle on the mensural level.

The final two pieces listed in Table 6.2 are significantly different from the others since they are two-voice settings of an antiphon (Obrecht's *Regina celi*) and of a popular tune (Roelkin's "De tous biens playne"). In his *Regina celi* setting Obrecht systematically explores the concept of cumulative proportions as they are discussed by Tinctoris in his *Proportionale musices*, using both the fractions and the Latin terminology presented in the treatise.[24] The final work is a setting of "De tous biens playne," by Roelkin. The added voice of this short piece is remarkable because it comprehensively explores the vertical pitch space of the entire Guidonian gamut, presented on a diagram of a type common in music-theory treatises, a ten-line staff from *gamma ut* to *ee la*.[25] These overt references to music-theoretical

[23] For more information on this see T. Brothers, "Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition." Although Margaret Bent points out in her entry on "Isorhythm" in *Grove Music Online* that this term is anachronistic and has been overused, I have chosen to use it as a convenient way to identify a family of compositional devices featuring systematic manipulations of melodic and rhythmic elements.

[24] For a comprehensive study and edition of the piece see Hewitt, "A Study in Proportions"; also see Wegman, "Obrecht and Erasmus," 113–14.

[25] Jon Banks argues that this and other chanson settings with extreme ranges are evidence of lute ensemble performance. He lists this as one of eight pieces with ranges of two octaves or more, *Instrumental Consort Repertory*, 18.

concepts reveal an increasing awareness of compositions as man-made objects, and the promotion of practical musical skills as valuable aspects of a liberal education.

Articulating Tradition through Mensural Transformation

Two *Musica* Masses: Domarto's *Spiritus almus* and d'Amerval's *Dixerunt discipuli*

Composed in around 1462, Petrus Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus* is a foundational piece in the tradition of music about music. It is both the earliest and most complex example of a cyclic Mass based on a homographic cantus firmus, and was widely circulated and commented on in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[26] Although Domarto did not make it into Tinctoris' list of *primi compositores*, Wegman points out that Tinctoris paints Domarto as an erring but influential figure, often leading the composers of the next generation astray.[27] His Mass was both highly disseminated, having five concordances in sources copied between the 1460s and the 1490s in the Low Countries, Italy, and Hungary, and connected to other works through similar mensural usage, most significantly Eloy d'Amerval's *Missa Dixerunt discipuli*, which is also preserved in VatS 14.[28] Much to the chagrin of Tinctoris, Domarto was a leader in mensural usage, and, I argue, also in the trend toward self-reflexive compositions.

Rob Wegman has provided an excellent and comprehensive discussion of Domarto's Mass and its influence, and I will relate many of his findings in the interest of establishing the relevance of this piece to my narrative.[29] Wegman asserts that while there are Marian implications for Domarto's use of a melisma from the responsory *Stirps Jesse*, the central feature of the composition is the ingenious way in which Domarto applied a wide-ranging set of mensural values to his lengthy cantus firmus, thus meticulously

[26] For more on homographic cantus firmi see Zazulia, "The Transformative Impulse."

[27] Wegman points out the direction of influence implied by Tinctoris, stating that, "while Domarto had 'sinned intolerably' by using C-dot as a sign of augmentation, other composers – such as Ockeghem, Busnoys, Regis, Caron and Faugues – had merely 'imitated him in this error.'" Wegman, "Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus*," 239.

[28] The sources for Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus* include: LucAS 238; TrentC 88; PozU 7022; VatS 14; ModE M.1.13. VatS 14 is the unique source for d'Amerval's Mass, although it clearly had a broader circulation since it was cited in Tinctoris' *Proportionale musice*, Gaffurius' *Practica musice*, and a letter written by Giovanni da Legge.

[29] Wegman, "Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus*," 241.

making it musically viable in the five most common mensuration signs.[30] Wegman points out the extreme difficulty of this task and draws the conclusion that "from the moment Domarto turned the 'spiritus almus' melody into the notational archetype of the Mass, he must have envisaged a cycle in which mensural transformation was to play a central role."[31] The emphasis on this technique connects this Mass with other works experimenting with the limits of the mensural system and with musical notation in general.

Missa Spiritus almus is not alone in its presentation of a homographic cantus firmus and mensural transformation. Wegman identifies two other pieces based primarily on mensural transformation – Eloy d'Amerval's *Missa Dixerunt discipuli* and the anonymous late-fourteenth-century motet, *Inter densas / Imbribus / Admirabile* – and I have identified two additional pieces that rely on mensural transformation and include other related features: the Credo of Brumel's *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la* and Obrecht's musical letter to a patron, *Inter preclarissimas virtutes / Estote.*[32] Both of the pieces described by Wegman go far beyond the five mensural species used by Domarto, exploring the esoteric realms of mensural transformation on the level of major and minor modus; *Inter densas* presents eight different species, or combinations of prolation, tempus, and modus, and d'Amerval utilizes all sixteen possible species discussed by Tinctoris.[33] Wegman argues that similarities between the tenors and rubrics show that d'Amerval was more directly influenced by *Inter densas* than by Domarto's Mass. Regardless of whether d'Amerval was influenced directly by Domarto, they are only separated by a single Mass setting in VatS 14, indicating that they moved in the same circles and were probably considered as linked by contemporaries.[34] Domarto and d'Amerval's similarly comprehensive mensural structures seem to indicate cultural pressures to foreground abstract concepts of music theory in compositions.

Mensural transformation and Guido's gamut: Brumel, *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*

The Credo of Brumel's hexachord Mass, *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*, is another piece that uses mensural transformation like that of Domarto and

[30] See the cantus firmus for Agnus Dei I from Domarto, *Missa Spiritus almus*, on 409^{v} of TrentC 88. www1.trentinocultura.net/.

[31] He points out Busnoys' use of the same responsory as a tenor in his motet *Anima mea liquefacta est*. "Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus*," 247.

[32] Fuhrmann also discusses this section of Brumel's Mass, "A Humble Beginning?"

[33] Wegman, "Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus*," 251–52.

[34] The piece separating them is Vincenet's *Missa Eterne rex altissime*, which does not seem to be connected with the other two.

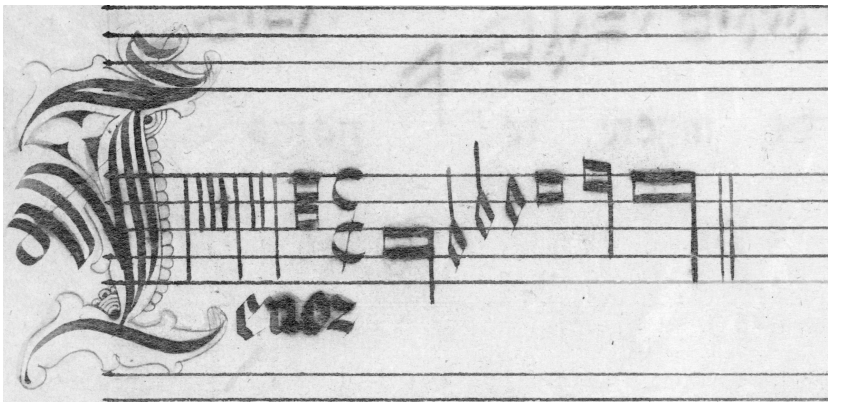


Figure 6.1 D'Amerval Agnus dei III of *Missa Dixerunt discipuli*, VatS 14, 64v
Photograph © 2019 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, with all rights reserved

d'Amerval.[35] The hexachordal cantus firmus of this movement of Brumel's Mass is strikingly similar to the tenor of d'Amerval's Mass.

The motto used by d'Amerval as a cantus firmus (shown in Figure 6.1) is clearly identified as the first seven notes of an antiphon for St. Martin of Tours but it also outlines a hexachord, the hard hexachord on G.[36] The similarity between Brumel's soft hexachord and d'Amerval's hard one is evident also in the ascending melodic outline, length, and the variety of note values. Although the hexachord is used in every movement of Brumel's Mass, the Credo is the only one with multiple mensuration signs applied to a single notated cantus firmus, resulting in different temporal values for each *cursus*.[37] As shown in Figure 6.2, Brumel actually writes two different rhythmic realizations of the soft hexachord.

Between the two versions of the hexachordal tenor Brumel uses every mensural value from the minim to the long in the *Patrem* section, and from breve to maxima in the *Et iterum*, a key feature and challenge in the mensural transformation systems utilized by both d'Amerval and

[35] For sources for Brumel's hexachordal Mass see Table 6.3.

[36] Confirmation that this short melody is connected to the antiphon is indicated with a textual incipit on the first opening of its unique source, VatS 14, 56v. There is significant bleed-through on this page of the manuscript so I have reproduced a clearer page to show the tenor notes. A facsimile of folio 56v is available in the edition of the Mass prepared by Agostino Magro and Philippe Vendrix; see d'Amerval, *Missa Dixerunt discipuli,* xv.

[37] My thanks go to Wolfgang Fuhrmann for sharing with me the paper he gave at the Med-Ren Conference in Certaldo, Italy, in 2013 that is now published as Fuhrmann, "A Humble Beginning?" The *Misse Brumel* is now available through the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, web, http://onb.ac.at.

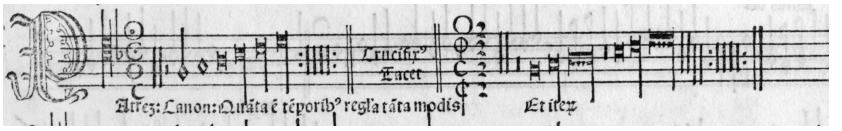


Figure 6.2 Credo from the tenor of Brumel, *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la* (Petrucci, 1503). Musiksammlung, ÖNB Vienna: SA.78.C.10/3, Bl. 5 r.
Photograph © 2019, Musiksammlung, ÖNB Vienna

Domarto. Notably, this is the only moment in Brumel's Mass where the cantus firmus is given the minim note-value. In the rest of the Mass it generally behaves more like a traditional long-note cantus firmus, maintaining much longer note values than the other voices.

In Brumel's Credo, each notated version of the hexachord is subjected to four different combinations of mensuration signs resulting in different values with each reiteration. The main compositional interest of this section comes from the alteration of note values to complete perfect units, illustrating the variety of realizations of the same melody under different signs. The cantus firmus for the *Patrem* section uses the four basic mensurations, varying the values on the level of tempus, prolation, and, with the help of a textual rubric, minor modus as well.[38] Brumel's careful arrangement of minims, semibreves, and breves are intended to demonstrate the complex of relationships among the four most common mensuration signs. The second version for the *Et iterum* uses ○, ⌽, ⊂, and ¢ all with *modus cum tempore* signs, indicated by a 2 next to the sign. The number 2 indicates augmentation in relation to the other three voices and the slash simply halves the value of the cantus firmus notes in relation to the previous sign, hence doubling the speed of the *cursus*.[39] Although the notation looks complicated, the solution is fairly straightforward in practice and merely demonstrates the application of cut signs for diminution.

Rather than expressing complex proportional relationships, Brumel seems primarily concerned with being as comprehensive in his presentation of mensuration signs as he has been in his presentation of the hexachord, an aspect of this composition to be discussed in Chapter 7. Like Domarto and d'Amerval he constructed a series of rhythmic values that would be realized differently under each mensural figure, varying

[38] For more information and a translation of the rubric see d'Amerval, *Missa Dixerunt discipuli,* ed. by Magro and Vendrix, xiv–vi.

[39] For more on this see Busse Berger, *Mensuration and Proportion*.

them on the level of minor modus, tempus, and prolation while using all the normal signs plus the *modus cum tempore* signs. Wolfgang Fuhrmann proposes that Brumel's comprehensive temporal treatment of the hexachord is particularly significant in the context of the Creed. He wonders, a little tongue-in-cheek, if it should be understood as "a Musician's Credo of its own: 'I believe in the hexachord, the five note-values from the minim to the maxima, and in all the possible variants of modus, tempo and prolation.'"[40] Joking aside, like Ockeghem in his *Missa Prolationum*, Brumel is displaying a variety of different possibilities for variation on the temporal and melodic axes and proclaiming himself as a master of them all.

Brumel's hexachord Mass, although it remains fairly obscure today, has three complete concordances in manuscript and print sources, partial concordances in seven different collections and treatises, and there are intabulations of three sections. Although the two complete manuscript sources are large collections associated with performing institutions, many of the sources containing sections of the Mass demonstrate that it enjoyed significant popularity and circulation in the secular realm around 1500, particularly in northern Italy.[41] These partial sources show that the Mass existed at least ten years before Petrucci's publication of the *Misse Brumel* in 1503, the source that probably had the widest circulation.[42] At least twenty-five years after the compilation of the first partial source, FlorBN 229, two movements were intabulated in the beautiful Capirola Lute Manuscript, including the Agnus.[43] The third Agnus is remarkable because, as this is the final movement in the Mass, the hexachordal cantus firmus has finally reached the top voice and is sung from g to ee, the highest hexachord in the Guidonian gamut. This movement was particularly popular, accounting for six of the partial concordances and intabulations. Perhaps the popularity of this movement can be attributed to this exposed presentation of the hexachord. It is present on folio 85v of the Bentivoglio family's chansonnier, BolQ 18, a manuscript that also includes four other *Musica* pieces, including

[40] Fuhrmann, "A Humble Beginning?", 41.

[41] In fact, the only two sources that do not have an Italian provenance are the Stuttgart manuscript and Heyden's pedagogical treatise, the source furthest removed.

[42] The earliest source seems to be Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Banco Rari 229 (FlorBN 229), compiled 1492–93.

[43] A facsimile of this exquisite manuscript is available through a collaboration between the Newberry Library and the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance at the University of Tours, France: http://ricercar.cesr.univ-tours.fr/3-programmes/EMN/luth/sources/Capirola.pdf.

Table 6.3 Sources for Brumel, *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*

COMPLETE CONCORDANCES		
Misse Brumel (Venice: Petrucci, 1503)		1503
Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Mus. I 47		1506
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina Ms. 45		1511–14
PARTIAL CONCORDANCES		
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Banco Rari 229	Qui tollis, Benedictus, Pleni	1492–93
Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, MS 1013	Credo: Tenor	1509
Sebald Heyden, *De arte canendi . . . libri duo* (Nuremberg: Petreius, 1540)	Agnus I	1540
Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, 757	Agnus III	*c.* 1500
Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli'Intronati, K. I. 2	Agnus III	*c.* 1500
Bologna, Civico Bibliografico Musicale Codex Q 18	Agnus III	early 16th c.
Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech v Hradci Králové, II A 7, "Speciálník Codex"	Agnus III	late 15th–early 16th c.
INTABULATIONS		
Spinacino, *Intabolatura di lauto, libro secondo* (Venice: Petrucci, 1507)	Agnus III	1507
Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MS minus VM 140, "Capirola MS"	Benedictus, Agnus	1517

a motet that Susan Weiss has found to be based on the name of one of the family members by means of a *soggetto cavato*.[44] The concordant sources for Brumel's Mass and the longevity of its transmission attest to the appeal that music based on theoretical principles could have in the secular realm.

The sources for individual sections of Brumel's hexachord Mass also include a few theoretical texts – Heyden's didactic treatise, *De arte canendi* (1540), and the Manuscript Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, Ms. 1013 (PerBCA 1013), a compilation of treatises on music and calligraphy, with many musical examples. As was discussed, Heyden altered the mensuration signs in two of the voices of Brumel's Agnus Dei I to demonstrate his theory of uniform *tactus* in the version of the treatise published in

[44] The anonymous *Spes mea* (41v), which is based on a *soggetto cavato* and whose text is a motto associated with the family. Also, Isaac's *La mi la sol* (26v), and the other anonymous pieces, *Bonus et miserator* (54v), *Sol fa mi re* (45v), and *Deus fortitudo mea* (31v). For more information on this source see the introduction to the facsimile edition *Bologna Q 18*, intro. Susan Weiss; as well as Weiss, "Bologna Q 18."

1540.[45] As Ruth DeFord points out, it was only with the 1540 version of the treatise that Heyden's extreme position on the uniform *tactus* was crystalized, possibly because it had come under attack by readers of the previous versions.[46] His choice to bolster his argument with Brumel's Mass movement based on the Guidonian hexachord reveals the implicit authority that these pieces wielded.

The other theoretical concordant source for Brumel's Mass is the same source in which Bonnie Blackburn rediscovered Tinctoris' notationally complex motet, *Difficiles alios*, PerBCA 1013.[47] In this manuscript from Perugia the tenor of Brumel's Credo is incorporated into a treatise on figured music where it is used as an example of alteration at the level of the breve and long in major or perfect modus.[48] It is not an ideal example of this, however, because there is no alteration at the level of the long. Either the amateur writer was working from the tenor in isolation, possibly from the tenor partbook of Petrucci's *Misse Brumel*, and had incorrectly interpreted the values, or the perception of authority gained by using a piece based on the hexachord outweighed the lack of alteration at the level of the long. Clearly, he was impressed by Brumel's pithy and comprehensive combination of melodic and temporal aspects of music theory. From its transmission history, it becomes obvious that basing a composition on concepts drawn from music theory gave Brumel's hexachordal Mass broad appeal and versatility.

Three Pieces in the Segovia Manuscript (SegC s.s.)

The unnumbered manuscript from Segovia Cathedral (SegC s.s.) includes two pieces by Obrecht that demonstrate principles of music theory: *Inter preclarissimas virtutes,* which uses mensural transformation, and *Regina celi,* which demonstrates complex proportions.[49] Although the mensural

[45] Heyden, *De arte canendi*, 82–83. The Brumel example is only included in the final version of the treatise, printed in 1540.

[46] DeFord, "Sebald Heyden (1499–1561): The First Historical Musicologist?", 6.

[47] Modern scholars were already aware of Tinctoris' motet because of references to it as an example of the complexities of mensural notation by Gaffurius in his *Practica musice* (1496) and in the correspondence of a circle of Italian musicians, amateurs, and theorists. See Gaffurius, *Practica musice*, trans. Miller, 86, and Blackburn, Lowinsky, and Miller, eds, *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, 494–512, 712–15, 771–78, 791–92, 828–57, 974–75. Also see Blackburn, "A Lost Guide," 29–30.

[48] In the manuscript PerBCA 1013 the treatise is entitled *Regule figuratus cantus,* 71–78, on 75v.

[49] See folio 202v–203 for Roelkin, "De tous bien" and folio 204 for Tinctoris, "D'ung aultre amer" and another piece by Tinctoris without text. For more information on the concordances see Blackburn, "A Lost Guide," 36–40; and Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript," 89–92.

transformation in *Inter preclarissimas virtutes* is significantly simpler than in the previous pieces discussed, since each *cursus* of the cantus firmus is only presented in two different note values, the presentation of the five most common mensuration signs in the prima pars shows a comprehensive approach similar to the cyclic Mass sections by Brumel and d'Amerval. Statements of the cantus firmus are further varied by changing the level of the written notes from semibreves and minims in the prima pars to breves and semibreves for the first four statements in the secunda pars.[50] There are four instances of alteration in the tenor, two of the minim in the prima pars and two of the semibreve in the secunda pars.[51] In the initial *cursus* the note levels of the tenor are augmented in relation to those of the other voices, with a semibreve equal to a dotted long. The removal of two signs for each of the partes changes the level of augmentation until finally, in the last section, the note values of all the voices are equivalent. The result is a steady diminution of the note values and rests for the cantus firmus during the course of each pars, a feature closely related to archaic isorhythmic techniques.[52]

In contrast with this somewhat archaic reference to isorhythm, the musical texture sounds quite modern and beautifully displays the unique, self-referential text, possibly written by Obrecht himself.[53] Based on the supplicatory content of the text, the motet has been described as a musical letter of application to a patron, but the identity of the patron is never stated.[54] Although there has been some dissent regarding when it may have been written, all recent authors accept Bain Murray's proposition that Ercole I d'Este was the recipient, based on three criteria: Obrecht's appointment as the Ferrarese *maestro di cappella* in 1504, alliteration of the cantus firmus text, "*Estote fortes in bello*," with the family name of the Este, and the text's correspondence to Ercole I's extreme religiosity combined with military and musical interests.[55]

[50] The cantus firmus is not present in the tertia pars.

[51] *Inter preclarissimas virtutes* can be seen in the facsimile of the *Cancionero de la Catedral de Segovia,* ed. by Perales, 78v–80v.

[52] For a detailed discussion of this technique see T. Brothers, "Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition."

[53] Recorded by Edward Wickham and The Clerks' Group, on the album *Barbireau: Missa Virgo parens Christi* (1999; Universal Classics: 00743625018820).

[54] Murray, "Jacob Obrecht's Connection," 129; Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette 1480–1555*, 14–17; Wegman, "Guild of Our Lady in Bergen ob Zoom," 210.

[55] For more detail on the history of discussion of the piece, see the footnote on p. 129 of Murray, "Jacob Obrecht's Connection." Wolfgang Fuhrmann has suggested to me in personal communication that this was composed prior to Obrecht's first visit in 1487–88; this is based on information from the forthcoming volume on the SegC s.s.

The occasional text of *Inter preclarissimas virtutes* is self-referential in multiple ways. It is organized into three sections corresponding to the three partes of the motet – a general praise of the virtues of the addressee ("you"), the introduction of the supplicant ("I"), and finally the specific identification of the speaker as Obrecht, who expectantly awaits the command of his desired master. In addition to the direct reference to "this present musical song" and Jacob Obrecht in the tertia pars, the text of the other partes also highlight the art of composition and the material nature of a written composition (examples shown in bold in Table 6.4).

Music is highlighted in the prima pars as one of the many virtuous endeavors supported by the patron.[56] In the first sentence of the secunda pars there are two references to music and composition. The first is a general mention of "jubilating always in my songs" ("*in meis semper carminibus iubilans*," see Table 6.4, at 6), the main activity of a professional musician participating in the cyclic performance of the Mass and Office at an ecclesiastical institution. The second refers directly to the "crude harmonies" ("*pagina rudi armonie*," see Table 6.4, at 7) of this particular composition, written on the page, the best efforts of a mere mortal. These references acknowledge the materiality of the written composition using the word "*pagina*," thus equating the musical performance with the transportable, recreatable musical object, this specific composition.[57] Unlike the copy in the fairly spare Segovia manuscript, the original source was probably a more ornate presentation folio or small gathering, sent directly from the composer to the patron.[58] In this way the richly decorated notation on the page made the musical voice of Obrecht heard across time and space, preceding him into the musically learned presence of his future patron, Ercole I.

Contrary to the self-deprecating promise of "rude harmonies," the smooth musical textures and sweet triads of Obrecht's composition present the text clearly and effectively. The primarily homorhythmic texture and declamation give way to short duos and imitative sections.[59] The changes in texture bring out significant points of the text; for example there is

[56] From Wegman, *Born for the Muses*.

[57] It is possible that in the context of this self-reflexive composition, the wording, "*tua musica manu sublevetur*" or "music may be supported by your hand," may be intended as an allusion to another famous musician's hand, the Guidonian hand.

[58] See mm. 69–80, Obrecht, *New Obrecht Edition,* ed. by Chris Maas, vol. 15 (1995).

[59] On presentation copies of occasional works see Nosow's citation of an ornate single parchment roll created to celebrate the birth of a daughter to Charles the Bold, *Ritual Meanings*, 228. Also see D'Accone, *The Civic Muse*, 243–46; and Cumming, "Music for the Doge," 360. It is possible that if Obrecht did create this piece for a presentation copy he might have used a homographic tenor with a more complex rubric.

Table 6.4 Text of Obrecht, *Inter preclarissimas virtutes*, from SegC s.s.

	Prima Pars	
1	Inter preclarissimas virtutes tuas ingeniesque animi dotes, pietas, iuxta apostolum ad omnia valens, magnopere illustrans.	Among your excellent virtues and immense gifts of the mind, is godliness – which according to the Apostle is "profitable unto all things" – shining forth greatly.
2	Quo fit ut animum semper promptum benivolumque exibeas ad hoc ut, pluribus misteria cum peregrinos ac pauperes distincte, **tua musica manu sublevetur**.	Thus is it that you always show a ready and benevolent disposition to this end that, having adorned many services when [you appointed] strangers and poor people, **music may be supported by your hand**.
3	Laudat te enim cleri largitas, tua namque excellens magnificentia multo magis excellit iustos promovens.	For generosity the clergy gives you praise, for your outstanding magnanimity stands out even more in that it promotes those who deserve it.
4	Gloriosa apud Deum condicio tua.	Glorious is your state before God.
5	Pauperes nutris, virtuosos ditas, ecciesiam fabricas, humiles elevas, ex quibus odor bonus commendaris.	You nourish the poor, enrich the virtuous, build the Church, raise the humble – from all which things you are commended as the good savior.
	TENOR: Estote fortes in bello.	TENOR: Be ye strong in war.
	Secunda Pars	
6	Eya, propter tuam paternitatem talem ac tantam **in meis semper carminibus iubilans**, non quas debeo sed quales possum laudes resono,	Well then, because of your such considerable fatherliness, I sound forth, **jubilating always in my songs**, not the praises that I owe but such as I am capable of,
7	presensque ***pagina*** **rudi armonie stilo confecta**, ad Dei laudem tuamque consolationem, humiliter offero.	and I humbly offer [them], being present through this ***page*** which is **put together** in a **crude style of harmony**, for the praise of God and your comfort.
8	Nam quid aliud nunc pro servito impendere possum, nescio.	For what else can I do in service for you now, I do not know.
9	Pecuniis non indiges, sensu ac prudentia abundas, prosperitate et letitia consolaris, tranquillitate et pace letaris, inter dignitatum cultores laudaris.	You do not want for money, you are rich in understanding and wisdom, are encouraged by prosperity and joy, rejoice in tranquility and peace, and are praised among those who look up to men of rank.
	TENOR: Estote fortes in bello.	TENOR: Be ye strong in war.

a reduction to two voices before the words "*magnificentia multo magis excellit iustos promovens*" (your "magnanimity stands out even more in that it promotes those who deserve it"). The return to four voices also

Table 6.4 (*cont.*)

		Tertia Pars
10	Igitur hoc presens **carmen musicale** et me **Jacobum Hobrecht**, humillimum servorum tuorum, benignus accipe et pro tuo libito.	Therefore accept this present **musical song** and me, **Jacobus Hobrecht**, the humblest of your servants, benevolently and as you please.
11	Manda et rege feliciter et longevus.	Command and rule happily and long![60]

coincides with the second entrance of the cantus firmus. Fermatas are frequent in the manuscript, particularly at the beginnings and ends of sections. These fermatas add clarity to group performance of this supplicatory text, much of which is in the first-person singular, creating homophonic moments at which all the singers are freed from the normal tactus and forced to communicate directly with each other about durations. Fermatas also visually highlight words of particular importance, like the imperative "*manda*," a word evocative of Obrecht's desire to be commanded by the recipient of the motet to come and join his service.[61]

As Lewis Lockwood has pointed out, Ercole I was particularly musically knowledgeable and was reported to read musical notation, at least at a basic level, in the presence of his professional singers.[62] If read "under conditions of strenuous attentiveness," as described by Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, the notation on the page becomes an integral part of the communication between Obrecht and his potential patron.[63] In the case of *Inter preclarissimas virtutes*, once the score had been placed in a presentation folio and sent directly to Ercole I these fermatas would draw Ercole's eyes to Obrecht's main request, cutting through the complex polyphony covering the rest of the page. Similarly, the laudatory text, comprehensive mensuration signs, and simplistic tune in the cantus firmus would also appeal to Ercole I, whether he was capable of singing the piece or just viewing the page as a material object and gift. The result is a finished and self-contained musical object, made to be representative of the skill and musical voice of its creator, Obrecht.

[60] Trans. by Wegman, *Born for the Muses*, 288–89. There is an excellent recording of this piece by the Clerks' Group, directed by Edward Wickham, on *Barbireau: Missa Virgo parens Christi*.

[61] Charles Warren has proposed that fermatas may have been linked to improvisatory practice, see "*Cantus coronatus* in the Music of Dufay." In the case of Obrecht's motet, this does not seem likely to me.

[62] Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 150–51.

[63] Jardine and Grafton, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy," 30–31.

In its unique source, the unnumbered Segovia manuscript, *Inter preclarissimas virtutes* is followed directly by the only fully texted version of Obrecht's musical memorial for his father, *Mille quingentis*, discussed in Chapter 4, and his *Regina celi* setting comes significantly later in a different section. The scribe of the Segovia manuscript clearly conceived of and copied this large and comprehensive fascicle manuscript in sections unified by genre, voicing, and possibly also by purpose.[64] Fascicles seem to have been copied separately, but with the intention of binding them together into a finished product. Fascicle XXVI, containing Obrecht's short duo on *Regina celi*, also includes a number of significant concordances with the theoretical source for Brumel's hexachordal Credo, PerBCA 1013, shown in Table 6.5. This fascicle contained at least twelve duos, many based on popular songs.[65]

The Tinctoris pieces also have concordances in another manuscript collection of treatises compiled in Bologna around the year 1500, BolBM A.71, and the textless duo is also presented as an example in his *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, where it bears the title "Alleluya."[66] The complex proportional relationships and extreme ranges of some of the pieces give the impression that these pieces were intended for instrumental performance and Norma Klein Baker has suggested that they may have come from an intermediary pedagogical source.[67] This nexus of interrelated sources for music and theory demonstrates the active circulation of compositions based on theoretical principles among musicians, theorists, and amateurs in the decades around 1500.

Obrecht's *Regina celi* is on folio 202v–203 of fascicle XXVI and is one of two pieces in SegC s.s. in which the proportional figures are accompanied by their appropriate Latin labels.[68] Interestingly, the two pieces by

[64] Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript," 87–88. There is an edited volume on the Segovia manuscript in progress, Bonnie J. Blackburn, Wolfgang Fuhrmann, and Cristina Urchueguía, *The Segovia Codex – a Manuscript in Transition* (Brepols, forthcoming) that will no doubt reveal more about this fascinating manuscript.

[65] The outer sheet of paper, fols. 199 and 206, is missing, so the pieces on fols. 200 and 205v are incomplete.

[66] Rob Wegman has recently pointed out that this repertoire of duos could be perfectly suited to performance by the famous blind viol-playing brothers noted by Tinctoris, "Obrecht and Erasmus." Banks argues that these pieces would be ideal for performance on lute, citing similarities between the textures and the Spinacino duos as well as descriptions of performance by Pietrobono. See *Instrumental Consort Repertory*, 26–36.

[67] Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript," 91.

[68] The other piece with Latin labels is a two-voice setting of half of the rondeau "De tous biens playne" by Adam on the same opening as Obrecht's duo, fol. 201.

Table 6.5 Concordances for duos from SegC s.s. and PerBCA 1013

Composer	Title	SegC s.s.	PerBCA 1013	Other sources
Roelkin	"De tous biens playne"	202v	136v	WarBU 2016
Tinctoris	"D'ung aultre amer"	204	89v	BolBM A.71
Tinctoris	Textless [Titled *Alleluya*]	204	82v	BolBM A.71 [*Liber de arte contrapuncti*]

Tinctoris listed in Table 6.5 are provided with similar Latin labels in PerBCA 1013, where they are examples in a treatise on proportions, strengthening the connection between these pieces and a didactic function.[69] Helen Hewitt linked the proportional relationships in Obrecht's piece specifically to the writings of Tinctoris for two reasons – they are cumulative, and they are indicated by three different numbers, instead of the more common two-number fractions or mensuration signs used to indicate proportions in earlier practice.[70] Anna Maria Busse Berger has pointed out that the cumulative interpretation of proportional relationship originated with Tinctoris, who attempted to rationalize and systematize the use of proportions in contemporary composition. Calling them "theorist-reformers," Busse Berger states that Tinctoris and Gaffurius "initiated this change and emancipated the fraction from the mensuration sign."[71] In Obrecht's piece the lower two numbers indicate the proportional relationship, labeled in Latin below the proportion sign, while the larger upper number is the link to the *integer valor*.[72] As Rob Wegman points out, "it looks almost as if Obrecht had turned the *Proportionale musices* upside down, and decided to put together a composition from the unfeasibly complex proportions that came falling out. The result is a virtual companion piece to Tinctoris's treatise."[73] Although this is a unique piece, it clearly fits among this group of pieces that comprehensively demonstrate aspects of abstract music theory.

[69] I have not had a chance to look at Bol A.71 in person or facsimile to see how the proportions are indicated in this source, but they do come together as examples after a segment on proportions.

[70] Hewitt, "A Study in Proportions" and Wegman, "Obrecht and Erasmus."

[71] Busse Berger, *Mensuration and Proportion*, 185.

[72] See the facsimile in Perales, ed., *Cancionero de la Catedral de Segovia*, fol. 100v. For a complete discussion and transcription of this piece see Hewitt, "A Study in Proportions."

[73] Wegman, "Obrecht and Erasmus," 114.

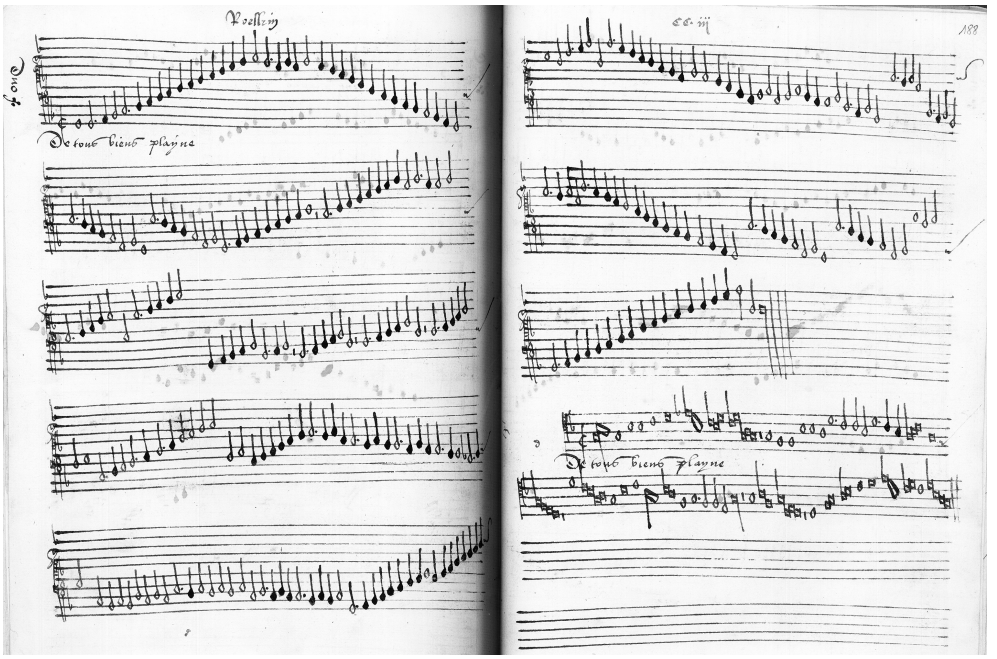


Figure 6.3 Roelkin, "De tous biens playne," from SegC s.s, fol. 202 v–203 r
Photograph © 2018, La Catedral de Segovia.

Composition on the Ten-Line Staff by Roelkin

The visual presentation of the two-voice setting of "De tous biens playne" across the central opening of fascicle XXVI in the Segovia MS earns it its place in Figure 6.3. This piece is also found on the very last page of PerBCA 1013, as well as in a large miscellaneous manuscript now in Warsaw (WarBU 2016).

Rob Wegman suggests that the ascription, "Roelkin," is a diminutive title for the organist Roland Weerde, and using this among other things he ties the contents of this fascicle to the elite musical circles of Bruges in the 1480–90s.[74] While Roelkin's setting does not use complex proportions or mensural transformation of the cantus firmus this piece stands out because it presents a comprehensive aspect of music theory, the entire range of the gamut in a single line. This extreme range, G-dd, is expressed visually by the presentation of this voice on a ten-line staff in every source.[75]

[74] "Obrecht and Erasmus," 114.

[75] I have not yet been able to consult a facsimile of the manuscript in Warsaw but Banks reports that it is on a ten-line staff, *Instrumental Consort Repertory*, 22. David Fallows has brought to

The entire opening from SegC s.s. is shown in Figure 6.3, with the pre-existent tenor in the lower right corner. The newly composed voice fills the rest of the two pages. Since the extremely wide range and rapid ascents and descents of this composition could have been dealt with in different ways, the unusual orthography has prompted scholars to wonder if this is an instrumental piece, perhaps for organ or for two viols or lutes.[76] However it was performed, the ten-line staff itself had theoretical implications in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries as a representation of the entire range of musical space, the Guidonian gamut.[77]

The ten-line staff or *scala decemlinealis* was an essential element at the beginning of almost every didactic music-theory treatise in the late fifteenth century and continued to be utilized throughout the sixteenth century. Variations on the basic structure of ten lines combined with an assortment of clefs or letter names were used to illustrate numerous aspects of music in pedagogical contexts. Diagrams that incorporate a ten-line staff can be organized into three basic types. By far the most common is the *scala generalis*, a diagram that was used to demonstrate abstract musical concepts like the hexachord (for an example of this type see Figure 6.5). The second type is the use of a *scala decemlinealis* to demonstrate single or multiple musical lines in polyphonic space, often used in treatises to demonstrate cadences, as in Philomathes' didactic treatise, *Musicorum libri quatuor* (Vienna: Singren, 1512).[78] The third category is represented by consonance tables, which graphically represent the consonances possible above or below a given note, but without much harmonic direction. Although there is little evidence that music was regularly composed on a *scala decemlinealis*, Ornithoparchus recommended that a ten-line staff could be used by beginners because it facilitates the combination of harmonic and temporal measurement.[79]

my attention another setting of a chanson with a newly composed voice presented on a ten-line staff, a setting of "Une musque de Biscaya" in TorunK 29–32.

[76] Banks, "Performing the Instrumental Music," 294 and also *Instrumental Consort Repertory*; Wegman, "Obrecht and Erasmus," 117.

[77] Jessie Ann Owens discusses the pedagogical uses of the ten-line staff in the early sixteenth century in *Composers at Work*, 38.

[78] On page 2 of "Liber quartus" in the version at Freiburg: http://dl.ub.uni-freiburg.de/diglit/philomathes1512. This treatise was reprinted multiple times by Georg Rhau as a textbook for Lutheran schools.

[79] He states that "it is necessary for yong beginners to make a Scale of ten lines, then to distinguish it by bounds, so that they may write each time within each bound, by keyes [clefs] truly marked, least the confused mingling together of the Notes hinder them." From John Dowland's 1609 translation, *Andreas Ornithoparchus: His 'Micrologus,'* p. 83.

Roelkin's setting as presented in SegC s.s, shown in Figure 6.3, represents an extended use of the *scala decemlinealis*, transferring a theoretical tool into a composition. In this setting the scribe carefully pre-ruled eight double staves of music, using two passes of a pen nib with five points of contact. The clefs are reproduced on each new staff of the newly composed voice, including the f-clef, c-clef and g-clef as well as the b-*fa* in each octave. The concordant source from Perugia is mainly a compilation of treatises on music and calligraphy, also including a few representative pieces for two or three voices. These two areas of study are related by their common reliance on specialized scripts and symbols. The manuscript begins and ends with two examples of the ten-line staff: folio 1v includes a traditional ten-line staff or *scala generalis*, with clefs and solmization syllables, and the first half of Roelkin's piece is written on the back of the very last folio. The combination of the notation and placement of Roelkin's setting is especially meaningful for this discussion since this was a manuscript with didactic musical function and signs of use over time. The meticulous notation of Roelkin's piece reemphasizes the comprehensive musical space exploited by the upper voice and links it to examples of the *scala decemlinealis* in pedagogical works and also to the pieces discussed previously in the chapter, particularly Brumel's *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*, which also makes use of the entire gamut in its hexachordal cantus firmus.[80]

Pieces Based on Terms from Greek Theory

The remaining pieces to be discussed in this chapter are structured around concepts or terms drawn from Greek music theory. Unlike the pieces in the previous section, which interact with contemporary pedagogical sources and the "reformist" music-theoretical works of Tinctoris and make these concepts visible on the musical page, the pieces in this section draw inspiration from the vocabulary and time-honored traditions of Boethian music theory as arcana. I argue that these pieces were also intended to appeal to the humanistically educated amateur, but through a different lens, as musical realizations and adaptations into modern musical practice of Greek vocabulary and notational complexities.

The first two are tenor motets by Busnoys that rely on Greek note names and Pythagorean intervals for their structures and will be discussed in

[80] There is an actual pedagogical example that makes use of the entire gamut in Reisch, *Margarita philosophica*, fol. 105v–106r, which will be discussed later, in Figure 7.2.

Table 6.6 Pieces based on terms from Greek theory

Composer	Title	Time	Genres	Terms
Busnoys	*Anthoni usque limina*	1465–80	Motet with constructed tenor	Greek note names
Busnoys	*In hydraulis*	1467	Motet with constructed tenor	Pythagorean intervals
Tinctoris	*Difficiles alios delectat pangere cantus*	1470s	3-v motet in a treatise	Aristotle and Cicero
Josquin	"Vive le roy"	1470–1503	4-v song with cantus firmus	"Tetrachord"

detail. The other two pieces listed in Table 6.6 also include Greek terms or names in their rubrics, but their connection to Greek theory is less complete. Tinctoris' motet, *Difficiles alios*, is clearly connected with contemporary music-theoretical discourse, but as in his treatises, Tinctoris, or his learned annotator, displays a reliance on classical sources as markers of authority, shown through references to Aristotle and Cicero in the commentary.[81] This motet circulated as an example of various notational and mensural complexities and it seems that it was generally expected, or perhaps necessary, for it to be accompanied by a detailed explanation and resolution, since both are requested by the organist Giovanni da Legge in his letter asking for a copy of the piece.[82] The textless Josquin piece is based on a short motto derived from the phrase "Vive le roy" through *soggetto cavato*. Therefore, in order to understand this piece, one must be aware of solmization syllables, a pedagogical tool; but the rubric also includes a reference to the "tetrachord" of Greek music theory (see Table 6.7).

Holford-Strevens argues that this rubric only makes sense if the word "tetrachord" is interpreted as synonymous with the term "hexachord," but it could also simply refer to the interval of the fourth. In any case, the fourth was the distance between the natural and hard hexachords, referenced by the syllables noted in the first part. The six solmization syllables were also presented in a number of fifteenth-century treatises as the modern expansion of the Greek tetrachord, a blurring of the boundaries between ancient and modern musical theory and practice.[83]

[81] For a full discussion of this piece see Blackburn, "A Lost Guide."

[82] Transcribed and translated in Blackburn, Lowinsky, and Miller, eds, *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians,* 771-772; Blackburn, "A Lost Guide," 29–30.

[83] Translation adapted from Leofranc Holford-Strevens, from *New Josquin Edition* 28.

Table 6.7 Rubric from Josquin, "Vive le roy," from Canti C (Venice: Petrucci, 1504)

Vive le roy Fingito vocales modulis apteque subinde Vocibus his vulgi nascitur unde tenor.	Vive le roy Aptly mould the vowels to the melodies repeatedly (i.e. of the other voices) to those words of the common people, whence the tenor is born.
Non vario pergit cursu tantumque secundum Subvehit ad prumum per **tetracorda** modus.	It continues on its unvaried course and only raises the second statement to the first through the **tetrachords**.[84]

Two Motets by Busnoys: *Anthoni usque limina* and *In hydraulis*

Pythagorean mathematics are most clearly evident in Busnoys' two tenor motets, which are constructed around abstract principles of Greek music theory. Based on his propensity for using pseudo-Greek terms and the fact that both Adam von Fulda and Tinctoris refer to him by the title "magister," Paula Higgins has argued that Busnoys had a university education.[85] Whether or not he actually attained this distinction, he was clearly held in high esteem by his colleagues and expressed an academic interest in incorporating his interpretations of elements of Greek music theory into his compositions. Perhaps this emphasis on more esoteric aspects of music theory reflects the fact that for much of his career Busnoys was attached to the court of Charles the Bold, who was himself educated in music and who was in communication with various musicians, including Du Fay. As a member of the household of this musically inclined and probably literate ruler, Busnoys may have been privy to discussion of abstract musical ideas. Since Greek music had perished with the Greeks, Busnoys happily took on the task of translating these abstract theoretical concepts into modern musical practice and explicitly incorporating them into his compositions.

With its anagrammatic signature and classical references (discussed in Chapter 3), the text and music of *Anthoni usque limina* draws attention to Busnoys' authorship and learning. The tenor is derived from a punning and rhyming rubric inscribed on a banderole that passes behind a drawing of a bell at the bottom of the first and second opening in the unique source, Brussels, Koninklijke

[84] See discussion of the tetrachord in Chapter 7.

[85] Higgins, "*In hydraulis* Revisited." Also see Blackburn and Holford-Strevens, "Juno's Four Grievances," 170–74, for information on Busnoys' use of "pseudo-antique" inscriptions, which they describe as "substituting Greek or astrological nomenclature for the normal Latin terms."

Table 6.8 Text from Busnoys' *Anthoni usque limina,* BrusBR 5557

"Monostempus silens Sit tot anthipsilens"	"Modi sine me non Nethesinemenon"
One tempus silent and then non-silent	In the times not without me [sound the note] nete synemenon [d]

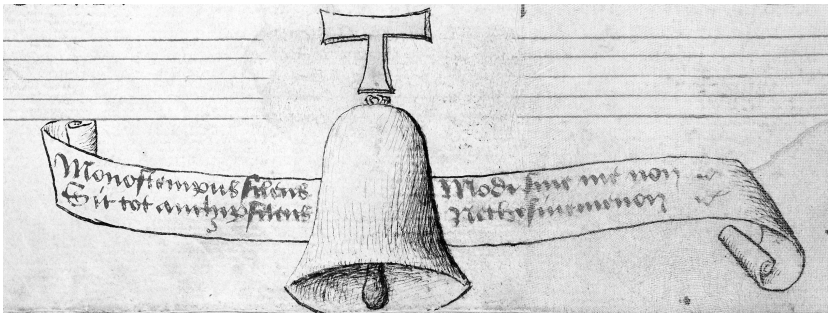


Figure 6.4 Tenor from Busnoys' *Anthoni usque limina,* BrusBR 5557, fol. 48v
Photograph © 2019 Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Brussels

Bibliotheek, Ms. 5557 (shown in Figure 6.4, with the text and translation in Table 6.8). Although the exact meaning of this rubric remains slightly obscure, it is clear that any interpretation requires *nete synemenon* to be sung or struck multiple times during the performance of this piece, making this single note the ruling force in both sections.[86] But how is this note from the Greek Lesser Perfect system translated into the late medieval gamut?

Figure 6.5 shows the standard way of mapping the Guidonian gamut onto the Greek Greater and Lesser Perfect systems, demonstrating that *nete synemenon* was equivalent to the note d in the conjunct *synemenon* tetrachord, beginning on a and including b♭. Although the cantus firmus consists of only one note, in accordance with the use of the *synemenon* tetrachord, each voice in Busnoys' motet is supplied with a signature flat. Just as Gaffurius maps the relationships between the Greek labels, simple letter names, and the hexachords in his diagram, so too Busnoys reinforces

[86] In the currently accepted interpretation, proposed by Flynn Warmington and recorded by Richard Taruskin in his commentary in the *Complete Works* of Busnoys, the tenor voice is interpreted in augmented tempus, a common practice in tenor motets and Masses. The result is a series of alternating rests and sounding ds. See Taruskin's commentary to *Collected Works*, vol. 5 (1990), 68–69.

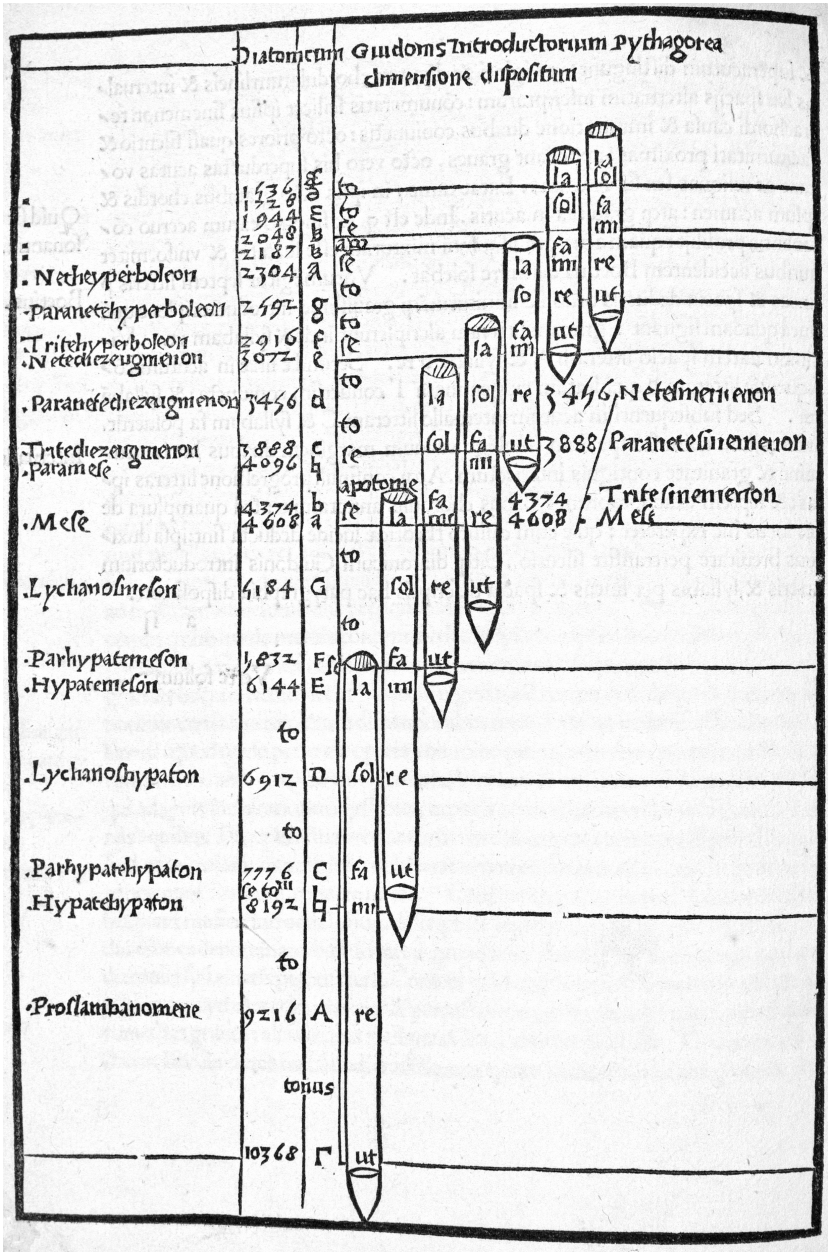


Figure 6.5 Example of the gamut from Gaffurius, *Practica musice* (Milan, 1496), folio a ii
Photograph © Newberry Library

the ties between his use of *nete synemenon* as a cantus firmus and ancient Greek music theory, incorporating this archaic system into modern musical space and practice.

The implications of the tau-shaped cross and pendant bell included in this visual tenor, shown in Figure 6.4, have been explained in various ways, from linking this piece and Busnoys with paraliturgical services and organizations dedicated to St. Anthony the Abbot, to specifying that the performance technique of the "tenor" should imitate a bell.[87] There is another connotation, however, that has not been considered and which is closely connected to Gaffurius' diagram in Figure 6.5 – the realization of theoretical concepts and numbers in the physical world, as embodied by the story of the discovery of the musical ratios by Pythagoras in the blacksmith shop and the forging of an actual bell. The story of Pythagoras is ever-present in discussions of music theory in the medieval and early modern periods. The bell is clearly intended to be equivalent with *nete synemenon* or d, whether the tenor is sung or performed with a bell. In Gaffurius' diagram the hexachords are inscribed onto organ pipes. The lengths of the organ pipes, longer for lower and shorter for higher, are clearly intended to represent acoustic principles which require longer pipes for lower notes, and reinforce the idea of the hexachord as an element of real practice and sounding music. Similarly, the bell, implicitly interpreted as d above b♭, anchors *nete synemenon* in the physical world, and bridges the gap between ancient Greek theory and the physical world as experienced by Busnoys, whose life as a church musician was in part regulated by the sounding of bells.

Busnoys' interest in representing ideas from Greek and Latin music theory in his compositions is even more clearly evident in *In hydraulis*, his musical homage to Ockeghem (discussed in Chapter 3), which makes explicit reference to Pythagoras' interaction with sounding number. In the text of the prima pars, shown in Table 3.6, Busnoys describes the scene as a moment of scientific observation, as Pythagoras recognizes the connection between the first four superparticular ratios and musical intervals. These intervals are first presented, in lines 6–7, as speculative mathematical ratios in the context of Pythagoras' observations on the weights of the blacksmith's anvils, and then identified in lines 8–9 by their equivalent musical terms, highlighted in bold. These four sounding intervals, the

[87] Originally Wegman linked the piece to a confraternity in "*Anthoni usque limina*" and then revised his interpretation in "For Whom the Bell Tolls"; see also Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 109.

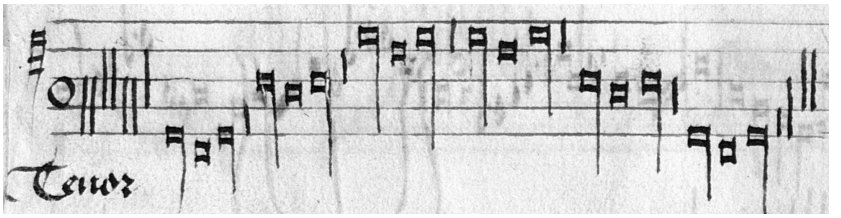


Figure 6.6 Tenor from Busnoys, *In hydraulis,* Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Mus. ms. 3154 resp., fol. 48[r]
Photograph © 2019 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

octave, the fourth, the fifth, and the second, are all encompassed by the compact tenor, the first *cursus* of which is shown in Figure 6.6.

As John Stevens writes in his discussion of number symbolism and disposition in the medieval chanson, "'number' (the Latin *numerus* translating the Greek *rhythmos*) is the fundamental reality; *musica* is the theory of its realization."[88] Music and harmonics are proof of the essential nature and proportional organization of the universe as proven by the work of the Pythagoreans. Through the combination of text and music Busnoys reveals three levels of *Musica* in his motet: he first demonstrates the connection of universal proportions, expressed in weights and numbers, with the resulting intervals of theoretical music. Finally, these intervals are given musical realization in the actual performance of the repeating melody of this cantus firmus, constructed from those basic proportions. As in *Anthoni usque*, Busnoys has validated the act of composition through references to the humanistic discipline of *Musica* through the text and music of *In hydraulis.*

Conclusion

The self-referential elements in these twelve diverse works serve a similar purpose; to highlight the work as a material object made through the skill of a humanistically educated, individual artist. Like the painterly tools and techniques presented in guild paintings of St. Luke, composers Ockeghem, Brumel, d'Amerval, Josquin, Obrecht, Tinctoris, and Domarto exploit the intricacies inherent to the mensural system of notation in order to highlight their complete mastery of the musical art. By creating single notations that can be interpreted in multiple ways, either through canonic techniques

[88] Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*, 13.

or the systematic application of different mensuration signs, these composers draw attention to their own knowledge and skill. Some of these pieces also demonstrate a more overt connection to speculative theoretical discourse by incorporating terms (Busnoys' motets), diagrams (Roelkin's *scala decemlinealis*) or systems (Obrecht's use of cumulative proportion, borrowed from Tinctoris) associated with the quadrivial discipline of *Musica*.

All of these techniques "embed" the basic elements of music theory into the composition. They depend on the interaction between sounding music and the composition as notation on the page, thus engaging diverse kinds of viewers by challenging them to ponder the intricacies of the notational and theoretical systems of music. In a humanistic, courtly environment, these compositions could function in a similar way to literary texts which, Jardine and Grafton have shown, were read and interpreted in a semipublic setting with the help of professional scholars.[89] Through a combination of encyclopedic tendencies, graphic elements or ambiguities, and terminology, these composers translated the theories and numbers of humanistic discourse about music into musical reality, or at least the potential of musical reality, identifiable and digestible by musical amateurs viewing the notation. Through the medium of composed music as a fixed visual entity, these composers at once proved the theories of sounding number that had been set forth in fifteenth-century treatises about music, while also validating and elevating the status of composed music and the composer before the eyes of literate, humanistic patrons.

[89] Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, 22–23; and Jardine and Grafton, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy."

7 Constructing the Composer: Symbolic Use of the Hexachord in Compositions *c.* 1500

In the 1480s composers began to write a significant number of pieces that presented the single most clearly recognizable feature of late medieval music theory and history – the hexachord.[1] Whether inscribed onto the palm of the Guidonian hand or arranged across the lines of the gamut of notes, syllables, and clefs, the hexachord is the most ubiquitous image of late medieval and early modern music theory.[2] There is a firm historical basis for the centrality of the hexachord in the modern imagination since this diagram appears in a multitude of sources, practical and speculative, and was even painted onto the wall of the mission church of San Antonio da Padua near Jolon, California.[3] In addition, at least thirty Masses based on a hexachordal subject were composed between 1493 and 1702, second only in number to *L'homme armé* Mass settings.[4] The hexachord has fascinated

[1] Although multiple terms were used for this figure in the fifteenth century, including *deductio, proprietas*, and *schiere*, I will use the most common modern term "hexachord" to avoid confusion. Mengozzi has argued that this term, used first by Ramos, was central to a significant change in conceptions of solmization in the late fifteenth century, an issue that I will address in detail below. For Mengozzi's argument see the second half of his book *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory*.

[2] Major recent discussions of the hexachord and its related diagrams include Weiss, "*Disce manum tuam*"; K. Berger, "The Guidonian Hand"; and Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, especially chapter 3, "Basic Theory Treatises" and 4, "The Memorization of Organum, Discant, and Counterpoint Treatises," 85–158. Other important discussions of these topics include Canguilhem, "Main mémorielle et invention musicale"; Killam, "Solmization with the Guidonian Hand"; Bent, "Diatonic *ficta*," 7–12; K. Berger, "Hand and the Art of Memory"; Crocker, "Hermann's Major Sixth"; Smits van Waesberghe, *Musikerziehung*.

[3] Examples of the musical hands in practical sources include a Cistercian antiphonary, Munich 7907, and a gradual, Melk 109. Exemplary treatises featuring the hexachord and a hand in the open sections are Frutolfus, *Breviarium de musica* (*c.* 1100), Elias Salomon, *Scientia artis musice* (1273), Prosdocimo, *Plana musica* (1412), and Gaffurius, *Practica musice*. An example of a humanistic treatise that uses the hexachord as a musical symbol, which I will discuss further below, is the *Margarita philosophica* of Gregor Reisch, first published in 1503, as well as Vitruvius, *De Architectura (1536)*, available from the *University of Heidelberg*, web, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de. For more on the use of the hexachord and musical instruction on conversion in California mission churches see Sandos, *Converting California*.

[4] For a list of later sixteenth-century Masses based on the hexachord see Appendix B, based on Lester Brothers' dissertation, "The Hexachord Mass," in which he provides a good overview of the seventeenth-century history of the hexachord. See Appendix to Fuhrmann, "A Humble Beginning?" for possible revised dating.

modern musicologists too, with responses to it ranging from the fabrication of elaborate systems for the analysis of polyphonic compositions using the hexachord as the historical equivalent of modern scales, to revisionist interpretations that argue that it did not have any real impact on composed music.[5] Despite its prominence in theoretical texts, the actual use of the hexachord and solmization in musical instruction is quite difficult to determine, because in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries musical education was primarily oral.[6] Whatever its use in pedagogical situations, the hexachord was clearly a prominent feature of discourse about music and as such was ripe for symbolic use as a cantus firmus and/or motive in polyphonic compositions, but symbolic of what?

I have isolated eleven pieces composed between *c.* 1480 and *c.* 1530 that use the hexachord as a structural element of the cantus firmus, along with two secular pieces that feature the hexachord prominently as a melodic figure (shown in Table 7.1).[7] Although I have surveyed the extant fifteenth-century repertoire that is available in databases, transcriptions, and catalogues for hexachordal compositions, the earliest pieces I have found were probably composed in the last two decades of the century, most of them appearing for the first time in Petrucci's Venetian music publications.[8] These compositions range from extensive cantus firmus Masses to short motets or instrumental works and include both Continental and English composers. The hexachord can be present either as a long-note cantus firmus, as in Brumel's Mass, which features all seven of the hexachords of the traditional gamut presented in ascending order, or as a simple but distinctive melodic

[5] For hexachordal analysis see Pike, *Hexachords in Late-Renaissance Music*; Russo, "Hexachordal Theory"; C. Berger, *Hexachord, Mensur und Textstruktur*; Chafe, *Monteverdi's Tonal Language*; Hirschberg, "Hexachordal and Modal Structure"; and Allaire, *Theory of Hexachords*. For an argument that hexachordal solmization was not a significant part of music pedagogy and theory until the late fifteenth century see Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* as well as his articles, "Beyond the Hexachord"; "*Si quis manus non habeat*"; and "Virtual Segments."

[6] For a number of recent studies on education see the many relevant chapters in Murray, Weiss, and Cyrus, eds, *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*; and a number of articles in Susan Boynton and Eric Rice, eds, *Young Choristers: 650–1700*, especially those by Yardley, Rice and Reardon; also Brand, "A Medieval *Scholasticus* and Renaissance Choirmaster"; Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, especially chapter 3, "Basic Theory Treatises" and 4, "The Memorization of Organum, Discant, and Counterpoint Treatises," 85–158; Canguilhem, "Main mémorielle et invention musicale."

[7] Dating for some of these pieces is difficult because source information for the second half of the fifteenth-century period is particularly sparse. It is possible that some of these pieces come from the 1470s, and Fallows argues that Josquin's *Ce povre mendicant / Pauper sum ego* comes from the first decade of the sixteenth century. See *Josquin*, 305.

[8] Other pieces use solmization syllables, especially as puns, but they are outside the scope of this book. I know of no earlier pieces that use the hexachord in isolation.

feature, as in Agricola's extremely popular textless composition, *Cecus non judicat*. In four of the compositions the hexachord is one of two cantus firmi, while in Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*, the well-known "L'homme armé" tune is transposed and transformed modally to begin on each step of the natural hexachord.[9]

Previous scholars have been unable to explain why the hexachord was used as a cantus firmus and structural element of compositions so often *c.* 1500.[11] In fact, although we tend to use the term "hexachord" for a series of

Table 7.1 Compositions featuring the hexachord, *c.* 1480–1530

Composer	Title	Date of first source	Genres	Hexachord
Compere	*Virgo celesti*	1501	Motet	2nd cantus firmus
Senfl	*Fortuna ad voces musicales*	1534	Textless	2nd cantus firmus
Jean Mouton	*Exsultet conjubilando Deo*	1555	Motet	2nd cantus firmus
Costanzo Festa	"Counterpoint 115"	1602 (*c.* 1530)[10]	Textless	2nd cantus firmus
Ghiselin	*Missa De les armes*	*c.* 1479–81	Mass sections	Cantus firmus -also uses tetrachord
Isaac	*O decus ecclesiae*	*c.* 1485	Motet	Cantus firmus
Brumel	*Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*	*c.* 1493	Mass	Cantus firmus
Avery Burton	*Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*	*c.* 1528–30	Mass	Cantus firmus
Josquin	*Ut Phebi radiis*	1505	Motet	Cantus firmus Motive derived from a textual element
Crispinus van Stappen	*Exaudi nos filia*	1508	Motet	Cantus firmus
Josquin	*Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*	*c.* 1492–95	Mass	Cantus firmus transposed
Agricola	*Cecus non judicat*	*c.* 1485	Textless	Melodic feature of the tenor
Senfl	"Lust hab ich gehabt zur Musica"	*c.* 1524–33	*Lied*	Motive derived from a textual element

[9] In two of these pieces it is presented against the *Ut queant laxis* tune. For more on this see Table 7.9. The cantus firmus of Josquin's motet-chanson, *Ce povre mendiant / Pauper sum ego*, is transposed down five steps of the natural hexachord from A *la* to DD *re*, so while some scholars have argued that it evokes the hexachord, it does not complete the full descent; therefore I have not included it here. See discussion of this piece in Chapter 3.

[10] See commentary to Festa, *Counterpoints*, ed. by Agee.

[11] Willem Elders has drawn connections between the hexachord and the Virgin Mary, "Music and Number." For a more recent discussion of the hexachord in polyphonic compositions see Fuhrmann, "A Humble Beginning?"

six notes that can be solmized "*Ut re mi fa sol la*," this label was not consistently applied until the sixteenth century. Stefano Mengozzi argues that the late-fifteenth-century controversy around Ramos de Pareja's criticisms of Guido solidified the sixteenth-century use of the word "hexachord."[12] It is suggestive that the hexachord began to be a structural element of compositions at around this same time, indicating that its symbolic meaning as a cantus firmus is connected to the politicization of its pedagogical status and connections with the figure of Guido. Examining the interconnections between occurrences of the hexachord in music-theoretical writings, humanistic culture, and compositions *c.* 1500 demonstrates that it was central to composers' active role in promoting the understanding of music as both a liberal art and a Christian practice in the early modern period.

What Did the Hexachord Signify *c.* 1500?

Why did composers begin to use the hexachord as a basis for their compositions in *c.* 1500, and what did the hexachord mean in late fifteenth-century culture? Certainly the most common diagram associated with the hexachord and solmization is the Guidonian hand, which assigns the notes and syllables of the complete gamut to the fingertips and joint of the left hand.[13] Beginning in the early twelfth century and lasting at least into the mid-eighteenth, this image, often labeled as the *manus Guidonis*, was transmitted in a wide variety of sources – inscribed into empty pages or spaces in chant manuscripts, probably intended for didactic use, and also as illustrations in printed editions of classical texts, for example in the commentary of an early-sixteenth-century Italian translation of *De Architectura* by Vitruvius (see Figure 7.1).[14]

[12] See Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory*, especially chapter 7, "Gafori's Hand: Forging a New Guido for a New Humanist Culture" and his article "*Si quis manus non habeat*." See Appendix B for a list of later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century hexachord Masses drawn from the dissertation by Lester Brothers, "The Hexachord Mass." He focuses on the meaning of the hexachord in baroque Masses.

[13] Although the hand did not originate with Guido it was normally associated with him in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, so I will continue to refer to it by this name.

[14] In this print the hand and a diagram of the Greek pitch names and intervals are presented right next to each other in book V on folio 111v, within an extended commentary on the original text which is significantly indebted to Gaffurius. The hand, along with a staff of mensural music, is also present in the upper-right-hand corner of the woodcut title page, as a representation of "*Musica*." The other three corners represent "*Mathematica*," "*Litteratura*," and "*Pittura*." This print is available online through the *University of Heidelberg*, web, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de.

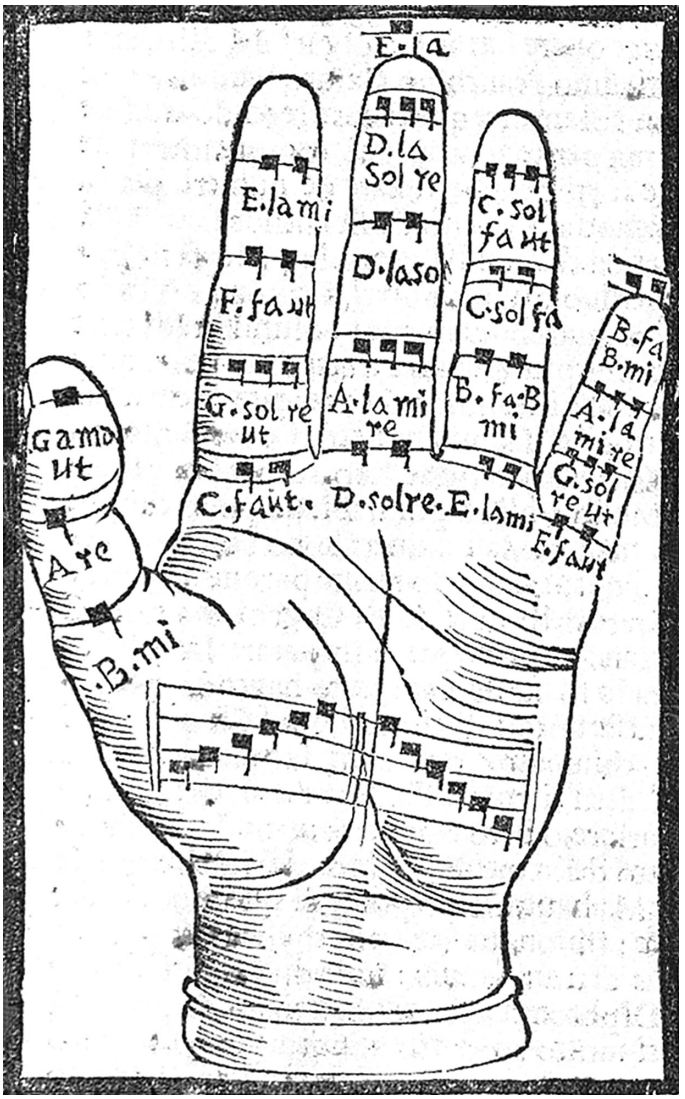


Figure 7.1 Guidonian hand from the commentary for Giovanni Battista Caporali's edition and translation of Vitruvius, *De Architectura* (Perugia: Bigazzini, 1536), fol. 111v
Photograph © Heidelberg University Library

In its standard form the hand depicted is the left hand.[15] Beginning with the lowest G on the modern bass clef, *gamma ut*, which is placed on the tip

[15] Susan Weiss gives a broad overview of the variety and cultural situation of musical hands over almost 1000 years of history in her article "*Disce manum tuam*."

of the thumb, subsequent notes follow a spiral pattern finally reaching the highest note, ee la, located in the air just above the middle finger.[16] This use of the hand can be associated with mnemonic uses of the hand in other disciplines.[17] In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a staff featuring six notes ascending and six notes descending was regularly inscribed into the palm featuring the ascending and descending forms of the hexachord, similar to the example of the hexachord from other music-theory treatises, like Lanfranco, and also indistinguishable from the tenors of hexachord-based motets and Masses.[18] Although this figure was not new in the fifteenth century, the *manus Guidonis* was at the center of a controversy about innovations in music pedagogy and theory that raged in the 1480s and 1490s in northern Italy.[19] This conflict inspired the invective of eloquent music theorists and fueled the creation of multiple treatises defending Guido and the system of solmization attributed to him.

The *Expositio manus* of Johannes Tinctoris is a good place to begin to explore the meaning of the hexachord as part of Guidonian-style solmization in the fifteenth century. Written *c.* 1472–73, during his employment as musician, tutor, and scholar at Ferrante's court in Naples, Tinctoris' treatise is organized into nine brief chapters outlining the basics of pitch relationships in fifteenth-century music theory. Beginning with the discussion of the physical human hand and how it can be used as a tool for performance, Tinctoris proceeds to translate the information contained in the diagram of the Guidonian hand, included in chapter 2 of his treatise, into written musical information.

Chapters 5 and 6 discuss the properties and distribution of systems of six notes, solmized "*Ut re mi fa sol la*," translated by Ronald Woodley and others as a "hexachord," although Tinctoris never uses this word, preferring the term *deductio*.[20] In his diagram and in the text, he maps the six syllables of pedagogical use onto the letter names and staff of fifteenth-century musical notation, laying them out in a rational order for humanistic readers. Tinctoris explains in detail the didactic function of the hand,

[16] It seems that this is the origin of the use of the term "gamut" to express the whole, for example, "we explored the gamut of possibilities."

[17] Weiss, "*Disce manum tuam*," 45.

[18] In the woodcut for the Vitruvius treatise, shown in Figure 7.1, the artist failed to include a clef, negating the validity of the hexachord as a way of fixing melodic relationships, or perhaps indicating that it could occur at different pitch levels.

[19] Moyer, *Musica Scientia*; Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory* and "Constructing Difference"; Blackburn, "Music Theory and Musical Thinking after 1450."

[20] "Properties" are natural=beginning on c, hard=beginning on g with b natural or soft=beginning on f with b♭.

Table 7.2 Layout of Tinctoris, *Expositio manus*

	Title	Translation	Diagrams
PROLOGUE			
CHAPTER 1:	*De manus diffinitione et eius distinctione*	On the definition of the hand and its distinguishing features	
CHAPTER 2:	*De locis*	On positions	– Guidonian hand – Scala diagram of lines and spaces
CHAPTER 3:	*De clavibus*	On clefs (letter names)	– Scala diagram of clefs
CHAPTER 4:	*De vocibus*	On pitch names (solmization syllables)	– Scala diagram of syllables
CHAPTER 5:	*De proprietatibus*	On properties (hard, natural, soft)	
CHAPTER 6:	*De deductionibus*	On hexachords	– Scala diagram of hexachords
CHAPTER 7:	*De mutationibus*	On mutations	– Musical examples with syllables for mutation points – Symmetrical diagram of "divine patterns" of mutations
CHAPTER 8:	*De coniunctionibus*	On intervals	– Musical examples of ascending and descending intervals
CHAPTER 9:	*Operis conclusio*	Conclusion of the work	

emphasizing how, in his opinion, this element of Christian music pedagogy also relies on Greek music theory, being built from a note labeled as Greek *gamma*, the lowest pitch in his gamut.[21]

Tinctoris' work sets the backdrop for the literary exchange of the 1480s because in many ways it is traditional and unobtrusive, yet it reveals how professional musicians explained aspects of basic music pedagogy in Latin for elite readers. Although the treatise is dedicated to a youthful singer also employed at the Neapolitan court, Tinctoris makes it clear that the dedicatee, as an already formed professional singer, was not in need of this

[21] This passage is quoted in footnote 29. For a helpful transcription and translation of this treatise visit Tinctoris, *Complete Theoretical Works*, ed. by Woodley, Dean, and Lewis, web, www.stoa.org/tinctoris/tinctoris.html, which will soon be replaced by a newer version on http://earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris.

kind of rudimentary musical instruction.[22] In the Prologue he assures his dedicatee, "I know you to be highly proficient in this skill – and there is no more dreadful insult with which to charge a musician than to claim he does not know his hand," but offers the text as a gift to be read and considered in a more philosophical way.[23] This philosophical bent is evident in the three extant copies of the treatise, which are included within larger manuscripts collecting multiple treatises on musical knowledge. All three are beautiful manuscripts, two of which were created as presentation manuscripts for the courtly libraries of the children of King Ferrante of Naples. As the first treatise in both of the presentation manuscripts, the *Expositio manus* was envisioned as a resource for the literate scholars who functioned as instructors of courtly patrons and could aid in the process of ennobling the art of music. The princely recipients of the beautiful manuscript collections of Tinctoris' works probably would have appreciated and enjoyed their meticulous organization and beautiful diagrams in the kinds of public reading environments described by Grafton and Jardine in their work on courtly, humanistic reading practices.[24] The famous portrait of Tinctoris at the beginning of the sumptuous Valencia manuscript, reproduced on the cover, pictures him at work over a music manuscript, alone in a chamber within the palace of his patron, perhaps the music room in Naples. In a sense this image, painted by a courtly scribe as a gift for a prince, suggests that the manuscript enabled the prince to possess the musical knowledge of Tinctoris.

Although Tinctoris' *Expositio manus* is not highly original in its content, the very act of writing an entire treatise on the hand and solmization in such detail is somewhat remarkable, since this type of material was generally part of the oral tradition. The hand diagram was often included as a mnemonic device in practical chant or didactic sources.[25] Stefano

[22] The singer is named in the dedication as Johannes de Lotinis. Manuscripts of the treatise include: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS II 4147, the least ornate but most accurate copy, which Woodley has argued was copied by another musician; Valencia, Biblioteca General i Històrica de la Universitat, MS 835, an ornate courtly manuscript including a portrait of Tinctoris; Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2573, possibly a gift for Beatrice on her return from Hungary. These sources are discussed in Woodley, "Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS II 4147," available online through Tinctoris, *Theoretical Works of Johannes Tinctoris*, ed. by Woodley, web, http://www.stoa.org/tinctoris/tinctoris.html.

[23] "*[Q]uom te sciam in hac arte peritissimum, nec atrocior iniuria musico dicta putetur, quam si manum suam nescire dicatur.*"

[24] Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*.

[25] See references above in footnote 3.

Mengozzi argues that Guidonian hexachordal solmization was primarily of scholarly interest, which is certainly the case when it was presented in treatises like Tinctoris' *Expositio manus*; but other scholars, including Anna Maria Busse Berger, have shown significant evidence for how the practice of solmization was integral to oral and pedagogical traditions.[26] Mengozzi's singular focus on written sources fails to take into account how they functioned within pedagogical ecclesiastical environments, and in his book he ignores the *regula del grado* treatises entirely.[27] Many of the individual sections in the manuscript compendia containing Tinctoris' treatise on the hand tend toward practical aspects, but they were clearly created for learned readers; readers who in previous generations had been more concerned with speculative musical topics. Placing the hand at the center of basic music pedagogy, while also situating it within notated musical space and citing the authority of the "Greeks," Tinctoris elevates musical practice and highlights the continuity the hand helped create between the shadowy figures of classical theorists and contemporary ecclesiastical musicians.[28]

As Karol Berger and others have shown, an image closely related to the hand is the ladder or *scala generalis* – basically the hand in tabular form.[29] The *scala generalis*, which I discussed in Chapter 6 in relation to pieces by Busnoys and Roelkin, displays the seven hexachords from *gamma ut* to *ee la* on a graph or staff of ten lines.[30] Gaffurius included a *scala* diagram in his influential printed treatise *Practica musice* (see Figure 6.5). Gaffurius knew Tinctoris in Naples between 1478 and 1480, so it is not surprising that his diagram also illustrates the link between classical Pythagorean music theory and Christian music pedagogy and practice. Gaffurius explicitly states that his diagram of the seven hexachords came from the end of "Guido's *Introductorium,*" the common title for a compilation of writings

[26] See Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, 119–40.

[27] Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory*.

[28] For example, in chapter 1 he engages in an extensive discussion of the use of *gamma* for the low G at the bottom of the staff. He states, "And in my opinion the creator of this method [Guido], wishing it to be called by this name, adopted the name of the Greek letter by itself, so that he could properly honour the Greeks as the greatest originators of the art of music, from whom the Latins received this same art" (lines 41-44). Translation by Ronald Woodley accessed from www.stoa.org/tinctoris/expositio_manus/expositio_manus.html.

[29] Karol Berger actually conflates the two images in his survey while Mengozzi excludes *scala* diagrams from his tabulations of sources that include depictions of the hand. This results in drastically different understandings of the influence of the "hand." See K. Berger, "Hand and the Art of Memory," 89; and Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory*, 71.

[30] See especially the figures and discussion in the subsection "Composition on the ten-line staff by Roelkin."

believed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to be by Guido.[31] Like the various classical authors flagged with their names in the margins of his elegantly formatted, printed treatises, Guido is cited as an authority by Gaffurius in his *scala* diagram. Gaffurius' *scala* places letter names at the central axis of the diagram, as the nexus between Christian music pedagogy and classical music theory. Theory, represented by Greek labels and ratios, is presented on the left, except for the synemenon tetrachord, which must be labeled on the right because of limited space. Christian pedagogy, represented by hexachords contained in pseudo-proportional organ pipes, is displayed on the right.[32] This blending of the practical and the speculative at the very beginning of Gaffurius' treatise proclaims the continuity and eminence of musical tradition. Gaffurius' diagram was extremely influential, serving as a model for later theorists, and its format was reproduced by many, including Cochlaeus, Ornithoparchus, and Claudio Sebastiani, as well as in nonmusical sources, including the commentary to the Italian translation of Vitruvius noted above and in Chapter 6.[33]

Brumel's Hexachord Mass: The Gamut as Cantus Firmus

The image of the *scala generalis* has its direct musical counterpart in Brumel's *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*.[34] This Mass, also discussed in Chapter 6, is notable both as the earliest extant Mass based on the hexachord and as the only Mass to use all seven hexachords of the gamut in order from lowest to highest, basically setting the entire *scala generalis* or Guidonian hand as a single, extended cantus firmus, systematically distributed throughout the movements of the Mass. Although notated in the tenor part, the cantus firmus begins in the first Kyrie in the bass register at the bottom of the texture with the lowest hard hexachord, or the *prima deductio*, on *gamma ut*.[35] At the end of the Mass, in the Agnus Dei movements, the hexachord jumps into the

[31] He also uses the term *introductorium* to mean the diagram itself. Gaffurius, *Practica musice*, fol. a i and a ii. On the title "*Introductorium*" for a compilation of Guido's writings into the sixteenth century see Palisca and Pesce, "Guido of Arezzo" on *Grove Music Online*, web, www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[32] See previous discussion of Gaffurius' illustration in Chapter 6.

[33] Cochlaeus, *Tetrachordum musices*. See the edition of Ornithoparchus in Ornithoparchus and Morley, *A Compendium of Musical Practice*, eds Reese and Morley. Sebastiani, *Bellum musicale* (1563), reproduced in Weiss, "*Disce manum tuam*," 59. See book V, folio 111v of Vitruvius, *De Architectura* (1536), available from *University of Heidelberg*, web, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de. Gaffurius is also cited in the commentary.

[34] Fuhrmann, "A Humble Beginning?"

[35] *Deductio* is an older term for the hexachord and will be discussed more below. For more information on different labels for the hexachord see Mengozzi, "Virtual Segments."

superius voice, rising to the very top of the musical texture. Although there are *tacet* sections and extended rests, this setting of the Mass ordinary is constructed around simple statements of all seven hexachords of Guidonian musical space. Brumel's Mass was very popular in the early sixteenth century, with multiple complete and partial concordances (see Table 6.3). Sections of the Agnus movement, in which the hexachord is in the superius, seem to have been particularly popular in secular, northern Italian sources containing mixed repertoire, as well as in intabulations for instrumental performance.[36]

Although in most of the Mass, the hexachord is restricted to the cantus-firmus-bearing voice, which is usually the tenor, the first section of the Mass opens with the hard hexachord presented in even note values by the altus, preceding the entrance of the real cantus firmus. In Petrucci's *Misse Brumel*, this hexachord is notated as a series of three two-note ligatures, resulting in a series of even breves that stand out both aurally and visually.[37] The texture of this section, shown in Example 7.1, is markedly spare and imitative. Using invertible counterpoint at the tenth, Brumel creates a simple pair of contrapuntal modules.[38] The melody that is presented in mm. 1–3 in the superius against the first two notes of the altus hexachord, "*ut re*," is repeated an octave lower by the bassus against the second ligature of the altus, solmized "*mi fa*," in mm. 3–5. The repeated melodic figure, or counterpoint, is restricted to the notes of the natural hexachord, using every syllable at least once, and could be solmized "*sol fa mi re mi ut fa mi la sol fa mi re*." The thin texture of the opening section of Brumel's Mass ensures that this two-voice module is clearly audible both times, highlighting the statement of the ascending hard hexachord in the altus.

A florid voice that remains within the range of a single hexachord over a stepwise ascent recalls the musical exercises in simple counterpoint treatises – like the "rules" in the Vatican organum treatise, from the mid-thirteenth century.[39] Similar examples and exercises are included in the closely related

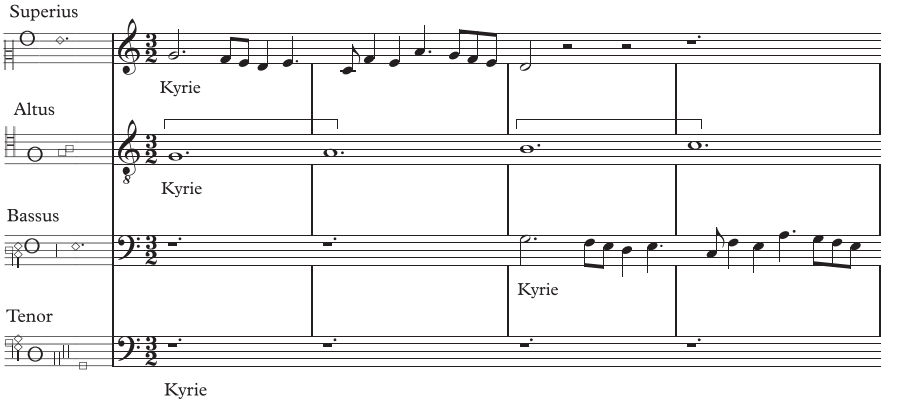
[36] See Chapter 6 for a fuller discussion of these sources.

[37] It is presented in exactly this way in both Petrucci's *Misse Brumel* and VatS 45. Image viewable from *Misse Brumel* (RISM B4643), *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, web, www.onb.ac.at. I have not been able to confirm its notation in Stut I.47.

[38] A module is a block of counterpoint, in two or more voices, that is repeated. The term was coined by Jesse Ann Owens in "The Milan Partbooks," 284, but has been used extensively by Julie Cumming and by Peter Schubert, see his use of this term in "Musical Commonplaces." For the whole piece see Brumel, *Opera Omnia*, ed. by Bart Hudson, vol. 1, 41.

[39] Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolican Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 3025. For a discussion of this source see Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, 121–30, and Immel, "Vatican Organum Treatise Re-Examined."

Example 7.1 Opening of Brumel, *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*



regula del grado family of treatises. In her discussion of the version of the *regula del grado* treatise housed in Washington, DC, Anna Maria Busse Berger concludes that in the "longest section of the treatise, the author lists for every single tenor progression possible within a hexachord a suitable counterpoint progression, and he does this for every single *grado*. All of the counterpoint progressions are within the same hexachord and in contrary motion."[40] In the Vatican treatise the first and last solmization syllables of each line are written below the staff, and the whole series is organized by the solmization syllables presented in the lower voice; each voice is usually restricted to a single hexachord.[41] Both Peter Schubert and Busse Berger have argued that many of these repetitive lists of contrapuntal examples were memorized and formed an important part of basic musical education.[42]

The presentation of cantus firmus material in an upper voice at the opening of the Kyrie is a common feature in cyclic Masses, signaling the external associations of the cantus firmus to singers and listeners in an easily audible way at the beginning of the work. In Brumel's hexachord Mass it is as though he is beginning with an allusion to a counterpoint exercise as it would have been performed in a late fifteenth-century music classroom, and thereby highlighting the pedagogical associations of a cantus firmus derived from the gamut or *scala generalis*.[43] Brumel used

[40] Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, 136. Also, on the *gradi* family see Scattolin, "La Regola del 'Grado,'" 30.

[41] Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, 120.

[42] Schubert, "Counterpoint Pedagogy," 505–06; Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, 140.

[43] Schubert discusses Pierre de la Rue's use of a similar example of improvisable invertible counterpoint at the beginning of his *Salve Regina II*. Schubert, however, is describing how improvisation informed composition, whereas I am arguing that the composer was

every possible means to announce the presence of the hexachordal cantus firmus and clearly conceived of it as the guiding principle of the work, a role that was traditionally performed by plainchant. The opening gesture reinforces the interpretation of the hexachord as a pedagogical tool not simply used for plainchant instruction, but also integral to the process of learning polyphony through the recitation of hexachordally based "rules" of improvisation. Through his symbolic use of these tools of the trade, Brumel foregrounds his role as a practitioner of the liberal art of *Musica*.

Conflict about the Use of the Hexachord in Music Education

Although the hexachord and the gamut are most often associated with Guido d'Arezzo, Dolores Pesce and Stefano Mengozzi have both maintained that the complete system of solmization and mutation, as we understand it today, was developed over time in the centuries after Guido wrote his treatise and was certainly not the only pedagogical method in use during the late medieval period.[44] Guido only briefly mentions using the six syllables of "*Ut queant laxis*" as a pedagogical tool in his *Epistola ad Michaelem* and, in fact, this is only one of two possible sets of syllables that Guido proposes using for this. Dolores Pesce argues that his purpose, in accord with innovations in modally organized tonaries and musical notation, was to develop a system for teaching students to recognize the arrangement of tones and semitones around a particular pitch, increasing singers' reliance on notated music and decreasing the amount of time necessary to train new singers, who previously had had to memorize everything.[45] Guido's motivations for writing this letter and his other writings were both pedagogical and political – to explain how his system improved the quality and efficiency of music education, and also to promote this system to the authorities over those of others, including that of the monochord. The documents he produced were compiled, transmitted together, and reinterpreted for use by later generations, including the addition of the ubiquitous "Guidonian" hand and variations on it like the *scala generalis*. By the middle

intentionally alluding to improvisation through his inclusion of an exercise for teaching that skill in his composition. Schubert, "From Improvisation to Composition: Three 16th Century Case Studies."

[44] Pesce, "Guido d'Arezzo, *Ut queant laxis*"; and Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory*.

[45] See the critical text and translation of the *Epistola* by Pesce in her edition of d'Arezzo, "*Regule rithmice*," *"Prologus in antiphonarim*," *and "Epistola ad michahelem,"* 437–531. For a detailed discussion of Guido's pedagogical goals see Pesce, "Guido d'Arezzo, *Ut queant laxis*."

of the fifteenth century most theorists were unaware of Guido's actual distance from the "Guidonian" hand, and it seems possible that they also attributed to him aspects of the improvisational systems that had since developed and that used the hand or solmization as a point of reference.

Shortly after Tinctoris wrote his thorough treatment of the hand, *Expositio manus*, as a "concise and useful teaching method" in Naples, a significant conflict arose among scholars and musicians active in northern Italy, particularly in Bologna.[46] In 1482 Bartolomeo Ramos de Pareja published his famously incendiary treatise, *Musica practica*, but the spark of dissent was actually lit in the early 1460s by the Carthusian monk and humanist Johannes Gallicus. Although it was not the only issue, Guidonian solmization was the most high-profile topic in the conflict. Gallicus harshly criticized contemporary practices of solmization and mutation, calling them "impure" and full of "verbosities."[47] His negative opinion of traditional solmization is especially apparent when he is writing about the pitfalls of the fifteenth-century educational system and the experiences of certain "students." Gallicus writes:

> There are some who, doing their best at trying this method, learn these trifles by heart, but before they have mastered what they wish to learn, they give up in the middle of the enterprise, bogged down by its sheer verbosity and having already *spent quite a lot of money*. Others learn those absurdities, to call them plainly, after not a small effort. But filling their mouths everyday with nothing but fa ut, ut fa, sol ut, ut sol, and the like, and *seized by tedium*, they leave in the end their singing master, as ignorant as they had started.[48]

This passage suggests that the "students" Gallicus refers to may not be young choirboys, the normal participants in the traditional model for music education in an ecclesiastical context.[49] He describes them as people with "quite a lot of money" to spend on their musical education and with the luxury of being "seized by tedium" during music lessons, presumably without receiving the physical punishment that was regularly administered

[46] This is the first sentence of chapter 1, "On the Definition of the Hand and its Distinguishing Features." Translation by Ronald Woodley, accessed from Tinctoris, *Theoretical Works of Johannes Tinctoris*, ed. by Woodley, web, http://www.stoa.org/tinctoris/tinctoris.html. Soon to be available from Woodley, Dean, and Lewis, eds, *Tinctoris*, http://earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris.

[47] For an excellent contextualization of the implications of his word choices see Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory*, 159–63.

[48] Translation from Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory*, 154. Emphasis mine.

[49] For more on educational practices see Murray, Weiss, and Cyrus, eds, *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*; and Brand, "A Medieval *Scholasticus* and Renaissance Choirmaster," and "Liturgical Ceremony at the Cathedral of Lucca."

with a rod or whip to inattentive choirboys for their lack of focus.[50] The students Gallicus was referring to were probably wealthy clerics or secular patrons. Perhaps some were the second and third sons of wealthy Italian families who, having taken holy orders later in life but not having received the traditional education of a cleric as a child, needed to learn to read music in order to participate in the musical and prayer life of their communities. The arduous picture of repetition and memorization that he paints recalls the rote memorization associated with chant education and discant manuals or *regula del grado* treatises. Perhaps these "trifles" he mentions the students learning "by heart" were simple improvisation rules that offended his ear and the ears of other purists in the church. Clearly, they also aggravated older part-time music students, who were still trying to learn to sing through repetition and memorization.[51]

Gallicus wrote his treatise from a humanistic and reformist point of view, arguing for the renewal of modern ecclesiastical practice and pedagogy through a return to an older, idealized musical past, closer to antiquity.[52] Although contemporary practices of solmization and probably also improvisation received harsh treatment from his pen, Gallicus was one of the few fifteenth-century theorists to analyze the content of Guido's writings. In doing so he separated Guido's actual pedagogical contributions from the later accretions that Gallicus viewed as problematic, showing that Guido was primarily a teacher and that his goals could have been met by other means, some of which are actually contained in Guido's treatises and letters, although they had been generally ignored by fifteenth-century musicians. Mengozzi asserts that, while Gallicus recognized the utility of solmization, his preference was for a pedagogical system that relied on letter names instead of solmization syllables.[53] His music examples use letter names inscribed on the staff next to the note heads, duplicating and annotating the musical notation. This system presupposes literacy and a reliance on notation rather than memory, again implying that

[50] For more on the experiences of choirboys see Boynton and Cochelin, "The Sociomusical Role of Child Oblates," 3–24, and Borgerding, "Imagining the Sacred Body," 25–48, in Boynton and Kok, eds, *Musical Childhoods and the Cultures of Youth*. See Figure 7.4 for an illustration of a choirboy with a birch switch.

[51] Rob Wegman has uncovered evidence of a severe backlash against polyphonic music – in particular a reaction against the financial resources tied up with it. See his *Crisis of Music*.

[52] " [. . .] *aliquid novi fabbricare nolo, sed veram huiusce rei doctrinam brevem ac perfacilem, qua nos piius ille Dei servus canere docet per litteras, innovare contendo . . .* " *Ritus canendi*, ed. by Seay, vol. 2, p. 4. Mengozzi translates this passage and notes the emphasis on letter names rather than solmization.

[53] See Mengozzi's chapter 6, "Normalizing the Humanist: Johannes Gallicus as a 'Follower of Guido,'" in *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory*, 141–80.

Gallicus was proposing a system for the education of mature, literate, and wealthy students, those capable of owning, reading, and copying his books.

Like Tinctoris and Gaffurius, Gallicus is at pains to explain the associations between Greek theory and Christian musical practice. One such association that had long-lasting impact is his explanation for why Guido chose a system of six syllables, a standard question raised in medieval music treatises. He explains that this was the smallest unit containing all three species of tetrachord, and emphasizes that the most important aspect of accurate performance of chant is simply recognizing the different arrangements of tones and semitones.[54] In the earliest extant source for this treatise, his argument is accompanied by a crude diagram of the *scala* depicting the three species of tetrachord grouped together within the hard hexachords, shown on the left, and the natural hexachords, on the right.[55] The scribe, possibly the Italian music theorist Nicolaus Burtius, used both letter names and solmization syllables arranged on the lines and spaces of the *scala*, with octave equivalencies shown in the same vertical column. Gallicus' criticisms of contemporary practices involving solmization syllables and his connection between the Greek tetrachords and the Guidonian gamut together laid the foundation for the northern Italian conflict in music education and the ossification of the Guidonian hand as a symbol of traditional Catholic music, especially after the Reformation.[56] Laid out in chronological order,

[54] "*Nimirum necesse fuit Guidonem, cuius propositum erat, quam breviter totum exprimere cantum has sex nec plus ne minus alias huiusmodi totidem fabricare syllabas. Quis enim nesciat per ba, be, bi, bo, bu, bam, it fieri potuisse, ver par aliud quippiam simile? Quicquid etenim canendo proferre velis, observa tonum et semitonium et optimum erit? Volens autem ille ritum, quem tunc modulando voces communis usus habebat, in manu sinistra tamquam in portatili tabula sicuti sunt oardinare . . .* "

Mengozzi's translation: "Since Guido's purpose was to find a concise formula for articulating all songs he had to concoct no more and no fewer than those six syllables, or other similar ones. Indeed, who does not know that he could have achieved the same goal by using ba, be, bi, bo, bu, bam, or some other labels? In sum, seeking to visualize on the left hand or on a portable table that method which was common in his time for modulating musical sounds . . . " Shown in Table 6.1, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory*, 168–70. Mengozzi notes that this argument was also made by Jacques of Liège, but it is unclear to me if Gallicus knew this source. See Mengozzi's discussion on p. 100.

[55] I say crude because unlike the other very beautiful and carefully laid out examples in this source, including a realistic "*manus Guidonis*" and foldout monochord with mechanical specificity, both probably added later by a professional scribe, there are a few infelicities in this one. The two clefs, F and C, rather than being placed on the staff as they would be in normal musical notation or a more standard *scala* diagram, are placed outside the graph; there are also two extraneous rows at the top of the diagram. Both mistakes seem odd if they were made by a professional musician, but they make more sense if this manuscript were copied by music student who was a humanistically educated, knowledgeable, and passionate amateur. This image is reproduced in Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory*, 172.

[56] Weiss, "*Disce manum tuam*," 47–50.

Table 7.3 shows the progression of terms and diagrams used for discussions of solmization and mutation in relevant Italian theoretical sources.

To varying degrees and with different objectives Ramos, Burtius, Hothby, and Gaffurius all reiterate and embellish Gallicus' discussion of

Table 7.3 Italian theoretical sources discussing solmization and mutation

Author	Titles	Time	Terms for hexachord	Diagrams
Gallicus	*Ritus canendi*	*c.* 1458–64	"sex syllabas"[57]	– Monochord – Hand – Scala of tetrachords
Tinctoris	*Expositio manus*	*c.* 1472–73	"deductiones"[58]	– Hand – Scala
Hothby	*Calliopea legale*	*c.* 1460–70	"schiere"[59]	– Scala
Ramos	*Musica practica*	1482 May & June	"exachordum"[60]	– Guidonian hand – Ramosian hand
Hothby	*Excitatio quaedam*	*c.* 1482	"syllaba Guidonis"[61]	– Monochord
Gaffurius	Bergamo draft of *Practica musice*	*c.* 1483	"deductione"[62]	– *Unknown*
Burtius	*Musices opusculum*	1487	"voces Guidonis"[63] "exacordum guidonis"[64]	– Scala of hexachords – Scala of tetrachords
Gaffurius	*Practica musice*	1496	"exachordum"[65]	– Scala

[57] Gallicus, *Ritus canendi,* ed. by Seay, 51.

[58] Tinctoris, "The *Expositio manus*," trans. by Seay, 45–48. "Chapter VI: *De deductionibus*" is an explanation of the naming of each set of six syllables, including a diagram of the *scala generalis*.

[59] Hothby, *La calliopea legale*, trans. by McDonald, 23. McDonald translates it as "hexachord," beginning on 98.

[60] In the opening sentence of chapter 4 and on p. 55 in Miller's translation. Ramos, *Musica practica*, trans. by Miller.

[61] Idiosyncratically, Hothby uses the word *voces* to indicate the letter names of each note. *Tres tractatuli*, trans. by Seay, 36–39.

[62] Discussed, transcribed, and translated in Table 7.3 of Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory*, 194–204. In this table, Mengozzi shows the significant changes that Gaffurius made to his work between the Bergamo draft and the printed version of the treatise. I have not had a chance to view this source, relying on Mengozzi's transcription and translation, so I do not know how the diagrams contained in it compare to those in the printed version.

[63] Burtius, *Musices opusculum,* ci, on p. 47 of Miller's translation.

[64] Burtius, *Musices opusculum,* ci verso, on p. 48 of Miller's translation.

[65] First used on a ii, describing the *scala* produced on the following page. Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory*, Table 7.3, 194–204.

the relationship between the Greek tetrachord and the Christian hexachord. As Mengozzi reveals, Ramos' tongue-in-cheek discussion of the relationship between tetrachords and hexachords was the site of the first use of the term "hexachord" in relation to systems of six solmization syllables.[66] Ramos used the term "hexachord" derogatorily, as his discussion invoked hyperbolic ridicule of the unnecessary complications involved in having overlapping segments of six notes and of the idea of inherent "sixthness."[67] In later discussions, however, this term came to replace the older term, "*deductio*," which had been used by both Tinctoris and Gaffurius in the early draft of his *Practica musice*. Missing from Ramos' text is Gallicus' discussion of the species of tetrachords contained in the hexachord, an aspect invoked by Hothby and embellished by Burtius in their reactions to Ramos.[68] In the printed version of *Practica musice* Gaffurius picked up the term and ran with it, adapting the tetrachordal interpretation of the hexachord into his *scala*.[69] By making it central to their teleologically constructed arguments for modern musical practice as an extension of Greek theoretical principles, Gaffurius and Burtius strengthened the hexachord with the authority of the ancients and forged an easily recognizable link with contemporary pedagogical practice – essentially a Christianization of classical music theory.[70]

Ghiselin's Missa *De les armes*: The Hexachord / Tetrachord as Cantus Firmus

The musical counterpart to the interpretation of the hexachord as an expansion of the tetrachord is in the tenor of the *Missa De les armes*, printed by Petrucci in his collections of Masses by Ghiselin. Although the source of the title of this Mass remains unidentified, the tenor has long been recognized for its hexachordal content, and it has therefore been called a "hexachord Mass" despite the fact that only three of the sections are

[66] Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory*, 182–86.

[67] Ramos, *Musica practica*, 10; Ramos, *Musica practica*, trans. by Miller, 65.

[68] Hothby, *Excitation quaedam* in *Tre tractatuli*, trans. by Seay, 39; Burtius, *Musices opusculum,* trans. by Miller, 48.

[69] This is most striking in Mengozzi's comparison of the version of Gaffurius' *Practica musice,* printed in 1496, and the extant manuscript draft of the same treatise from Bergamo, *c.* 1483. Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory*, 185–86; L. Brothers, "The Hexachord Mass," 22.

[70] For a detailed discussion see Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory*, chapter 7, "Gafori's Hand: Forging a New Guido for a New Humanist Culture," and "Virtual Segments," 463–67.

Table 7.4 Figures developed in the cantus firmus of Ghiselin, *Missa De les armes*

Mass section	CF voice	Hexachord	Tetrachord	Figures	Rhythmic value
Kyrie	tenor	hard			breves
Gloria	tenor		x		longs and dotted longs
Credo	tenor			leaping 3rds	dotted longs
Et iterum	tenor			neighbor 2nds	longs
Sanctus	tenor		x		breves
Osanna	tenor	hard			breves
Agnus Dei I	tenor	hard soft natural			longs
Agnus II	tenor & bassus in canon		x?	leaping 4ths	longs
Agnus III	superius			neighbor 2nds	dotted longs

based on this figure.[71] Unlike the straightforward presentations of Brumel and later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century composers of hexachordal Masses, this cantus firmus is an odd collection of abstract musical figures (shown in Table 7.4), including but not limited to the hexachord and the tetrachord, presented in even note values.[72]

The hexachord statements only occur in the Kyrie, one section of the Osanna, and the Agnus Dei I, while the cantus firmi of the remaining sections are based on series of tetrachords or simple intervals. Although at first this may seem like a random assortment, I argue that using the hard hexachord as a starting point, these rudimentary figures explore the boundaries of hexachordal solmization.

The Mass opens with an unambiguous presentation of the hard hexachord – both the ascending and descending form – in breves in the tenor. This is repeated in diminution in the second Kyrie by means of a new mensuration sign. The hard hexachord returns in the Osanna section of the Sanctus and finally all three versions – hard, soft with b-♭, and ♮ – are presented in ascending order in the Agnus Dei I. As is demonstrated in Table 7.4, these hexachords are either followed or preceded by statements of the tetrachord. These explorations of the tetrachord always begin with the notes of the hard hexachord, but expand one note beyond, forcing the

[71] Ghiselin-Verbonnet, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Clytus Gottwald, vol. 1, x.

[72] This is similar to patterned cantus firmi found in improvisation treatises. For an example see *The Buxheim Organ Book*, facsimile, 46.

singer to mutate and drawing attention to the limits of hexachordal solmization.[73] The tetrachord statements demonstrate the three species of fourth discussed by Gallicus, Burtius, and Hothby, while the fourth iteration pushes outside the bounds of the hard hexachord.[74] This close alignment between hexachords and tetrachords seems to reflect the contemporary interpretation of the hexachord as an expansion of the tetrachord, and as a representative of Greek music and theory.[75]

The cantus firmi based on simple figures are remarkably similar to patterned cantus firmi found in improvisation treatises, such as Conrad Paumann's *fundamenta* in the Buxheim organ book, among others.[76] Like the four tetrachord iterations in the Gloria and Sanctus, the sections with interval repetitions force the singer to mutate to the natural hexachord. For example, the final section places the cantus firmus in the superius, which sings the same series of lower-neighbor tones that the tenor sang during the *Et iterum* section of the Credo.[77] The emphasis on the relationship between hexachords, tetrachords, and principles of mutation in different movements of the same Mass indicates that Ghiselin may have been responding to contemporary music-theoretical debates on these issues and the relatively new understanding of the six syllables of Guido as the modern expansion of and improvement on the Greek tetrachords.

The Masses of Brumel and Ghiselin feature comprehensive presentations of the hexachord, but their connection goes even deeper. Ghiselin's sudden switch to the highest voice for the final section may be an allusion to Brumel's Mass, in which the use of the full gamut pushes the cantus firmus into the highest register for the entire Agnus Dei. Both pieces use

[73] There are a number of different ways that this tetrachord could be solmized, including "*ut re mi fa*" to emphasize its similarity to the first tetrachord; the point is that it extends beyond a single hexachord, testing the viewer's knowledge of mutation. Similarly, there are multiple ways to return to the hard hexachord in the following tetrachord statement.

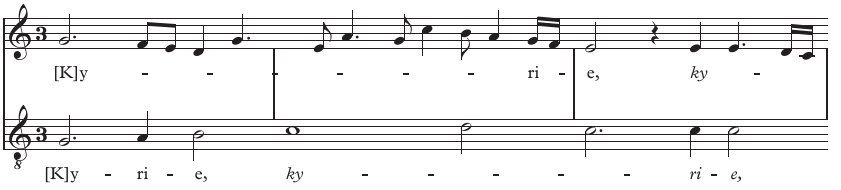
[74] Gallicus' discussion of the tetrachord with the translation is provided in Mengozzi, *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory*, 168–70; Burtius, *Musices opusculum,* trans. by Miller, 48; and Hothby, *Excitation quaedam* in *Tre tractatuli*, trans. by Seay, 39.

[75] The cantus firmus sections based on interval patterns are more difficult to interpret, but when presented alongside the hexachordal and tetrachordal sections they also take on a pedagogical meaning. They are all centered on the hard hexachord, pushing out around the edges, and challenging the singer or viewer to demonstrate an understanding of mutation, an issue at the heart of the late-fifteenth-century conflict about theory discussed in the previous section.

[76] For an example see *The Buxheim Organ Book*, facsimile, 46.

[77] It seems possible that the original version of the tenor was presented as a riddle or set of verbal instructions that Petrucci's editor published as a resolution, realizing an unnotated tenor, since he had done this for other pieces based on complex riddles, like Ockeghem's *Ut heremita solus* and other cantus firmus masses. For more on these types of riddle tenors see Blackburn, "Canonic Conundrums"; and Zazulia, "The Transformative Impulse."

Example 7.2 Opening of Ghiselin's *Missa De les armes*



the same mensuration (, or perfect tempus), open with the same octave g, and, most importantly, feature a remarkably similar duo between superius and altus in the first Kyrie.[78] As discussed above, Brumel's Mass opens with a striking statement of the hard hexachord in the altus before the entrance of the hexachordal cantus firmus (see Example 7.1). Brumel's hexachord is also accompanied by a motive that is presented in both the superius against the "*ut-re*" and an octave lower in the bassus against the "*mi-fa.*"

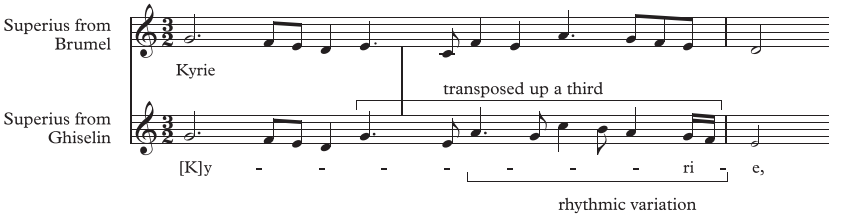
Although in Ghiselin's Mass the altus does not sing a complete statement of the hexachord, it does ascend a fifth from g to d, anticipating the first entry of the cantus firmus in the tenor, after two breves.[79] However, the most striking similarity between the two openings is the melodic figure in the superius part of both Masses, shown in Example 7.3. The first four notes and rhythms in Ghiselin's Kyrie are identical to the opening of Brumel's superius. Ghiselin transposed the rest of the phrase up a third with slight rhythmic variations, ending on e, which could be heard as the final note of the alto's statement of the hexachord.

It is as though Ghiselin is responding to the content of Brumel's Mass based on the *scala* diagram of hexachords and its pedagogical use for teaching solmization, mutation, and counterpoint. Ghiselin provides a subtle reworking of Brumel's ideas that emphasizes the complexities of contemporary arguments around solmization practice and mutation, subverting the austerity of Brumel's opening point of imitation. Ghiselin and Brumel, like many others, invest these elements with sanctity by placing them in the role traditionally reserved for liturgical plainchant, paving the way for the horde of hexachordal Masses that would be written by Catholic composers in the following centuries.

[78] Wolfgang Fuhrmann and I have independently noticed this similar melodic figure, but have come to different conclusions. For stylistic reasons, he believes that Ghiselin's Mass was composed first and that Brumel borrowed the motive and cantus firmus structure. See his discussion in the Appendix of his article, "A Humble Beginning?", 46–48.

[79] For the whole piece see Ghiselin-Verbonnet, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Clytus Gottwald, vol. 1, 38.

Example 7.3 Comparison of the superius lines from the openings of the Masses by Brumel and Ghiselin



The Hexachord as a Symbol of *Musica* in Humanistic Compendia of Knowledge

By the early sixteenth century the connections between the terms and the concepts of the hexachord and the Greek tetrachord were highlighted in a multitude of sources as an affirmation of both the classical roots of modern musical practice and the place of practical musical instruction in the liberal arts.[80] The Guidonian hand from a sixteenth-century edition of Vitruvius' *De architectura* shown in Figure 7.1 is in the gloss to the chapter entitled "De l'harmonia," illustrating a discussion of the Greek tetrachords.[81] The hexachord also turns up in the music sections of compendia of the *studia humanitatis*, like the *Margarita philosophica* of Gregor Reisch, first published in 1503.[82] On the frontispiece of the first edition of Reisch's comprehensive treatise, Musica is depicted along with personifications of the six other liberal arts, placed between the classical authorities on earth – Aristotle and Seneca – and the divine early church fathers in Heaven, including Pope Gregory. Musica is identified both on the circular band of labels beneath the figures and also by her proximity to musical instruments – a lute at her feet and a harp in her hands.[83] This encyclopedia of humanistic learning, written as a dialogue between master and pupil, was reprinted ten times throughout the sixteenth century, in both authorized and unauthorized versions, and was used as a basic school text. As confessor to Emperor Maximilian I, Reisch was an influential figure and his

[80] Mengozzi bases this argument on a careful reading of the changes that Gaffurius made to his *Practica musice* but also asserts that this was not Guido's intention. *Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory*, 36.

[81] The chapter entitled "*De l'harmonia*" and gloss begin on 109v. Available online: http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/vitruvius1536/0212.

[82] Ferguson, "The *Margarita philosophica* of Gregorius Reisch," 195. The frontispiece of the first edition is viewable and downloadable online on *The Getty Research Institute*, web, https://archive.org.

[83] Each personified liberal discipline can be identified by a representative object or gesture. For more information see Masi, "Iconography of the Liberal Arts."

treatise is representative of educational ideals in the early sixteenth century and of contemporary perceptions of music as a cultural object.

The prominence of solmization and of the hexachord in the section on music reinforces the centrality of these concepts to a general literate audience in the early sixteenth century. Book five, folios 97–110 of the total 301 folios making up the volume, is comprised of two separate tracts on music, one speculative and one practical.[84] The speculative section includes a large foldout diagram of the *scala*, pasted into the text in the chapter on the monochord, between fols. 101–02. The edition includes only three pasted-in folded plates – the other two are a diagram of the invention of the minor semitone and a map of the world.

A discussion of solmization is central to the section on practical music, which includes two full pages of examples of musical notation with mutation points indicated in the staff, some printed and others written in by hand (shown in Figure 7.2). Although they are all presented on a staff of four lines, these examples use gradually changing clefs to explore the entire gamut, beginning in the low register and touching *gamma ut*, and slowly progressing up to dd on the top of the *scala generalis*. Letter names with their relevant solmization syllables are printed into the spaces between the staves and in the margins, indicating the intended pivot point for each small section. As noted before, the copy shown above from the Getty Research Institute includes handwritten annotations, scribbled into the staff lines and between the notes, showing pivot points and the direction of mutation by the order of the syllables for the notes within the staff. This indicates that one of the owners of this copy analyzed the solmization content and probably attempted to use the printed example as a vocal exercise for learning to sing accurately. The printer of the text also included textual and graphic marginal annotations to flag key terms and to cite authorities like Guido and Aristotle. On fol. 104, near the beginning of the practical music section, the margin contains a diagram of a four-line staff without a clef containing six notes ascending and descending; this represents the hexachord of syllables discussed in the text and shows the ubiquity of the symbolic use six notes to stand for the concept of the hexachord (see Figure 7.3).[85]

The hexachord itself is the central object in the full-page woodcut illustration that introduces the section on music, shown in Figure 7.4. In accord with the woodcuts for the other liberal arts in Reisch's treatise, this picture is dominated by the figure of the Lady Musica. Right in the middle of the page, she stands

[84] A similar division is found in Book 4 (on arithmetic), Book 6 (on geometry), and ostensibly in Book 7, which treats astronomy and astrology in separate sections.

[85] Reisch does not use the term "hexachord" but instead refers to the seven groups of six "*voces*" as "*ordine*."

holding a tablet containing a double staff depicting the ascending and descending natural hexachord in two different types of notation, mensural on the top and *Hufnagel* notation on the bottom.[86] There are a number of variations in the multiple woodcuts used for this illustration, but they are all consistent in

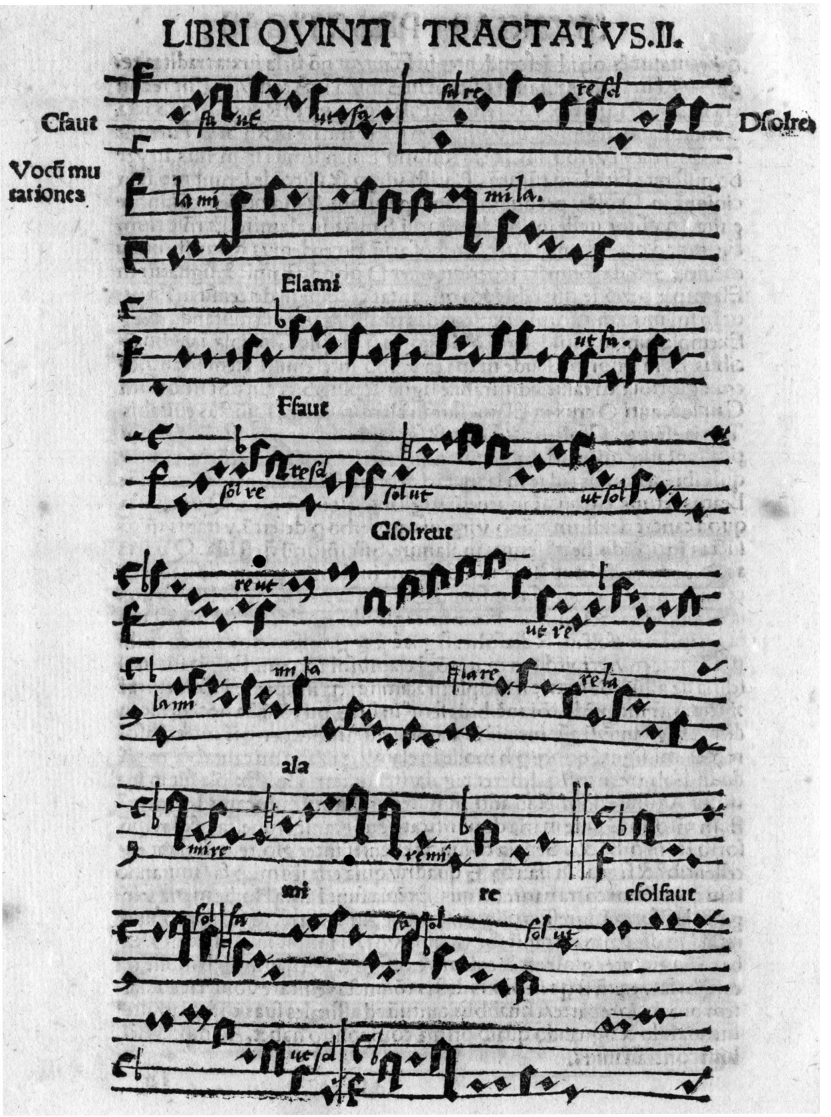
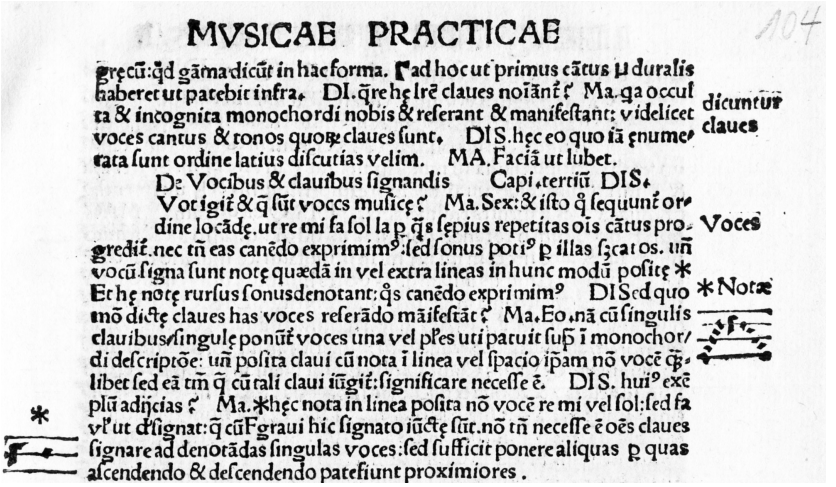


Figure 7.2 Reisch, *Margarita philosophica* (1503), fol. 105 v
Photograph © Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (86-B18873)

[86] Although the descending form is not complete, in the first edition, it is made clear and complete in later versions, which also include more figures and labels for the different figures.


MVSICAE PRACTICAE

104

grecũ: q̃d gãma dicũt in hac forma. ¶ ad hoc ut primus cãtus μ duralis haberet ut patebit infra. DI. q̃re hę lrẽ claues noĩãnt? Ma. qa occulta & incognita monochordi nobis & reserant & manifestant: videlicet voces cantus & tonos quorũ claues sunt. DIS. hęc eo quo iã ęnumerata sunt ordine latius discutias velim. MA. Faciã ut lubet.

De Vocibus & clauibus signandis Capi. tertiũ. DIS.

Vot igit & q̃ sũt voces musicę? Ma. Sex: & isto q̃ sequunt ordine locãdę. ut re mi fa sol la p q̃s sępius repetitas oĩs cãtus progredit. nec tñ eas canẽdo exprimim⁹: sed sonus poti⁹ p illas sꝫcatos. uñ vocũ signa sunt notę quædã in vel extra lineas in hunc modũ positę * Et hę notę rursus sonus denotant: q̃s canẽdo exprimim⁹ DI Sed quo mõ dictę claues has voces referãdo mãifestãt? Ma. Eo. nã cũ singulis clauibus/singulę ponũt voces una vel pl'es uti patuit sup̃ ĩ monochordi descriptõe: uñ posita claui cũ nota ĩ linea vel spacio ip̃am nõ vocẽ q̃libet sed eã tm̃ q̃ cũ tali claui iũgit: significare necesse ẽ. DIS. hui⁹ exẽplũ adijcias? Ma. * hęc nota in linea posita nõ vocẽ re mi vel sol: sed fa vl' ut d'signat: q̃ cũ F graui hic signato iũctę sũt. nõ tñ necesse ẽ oẽs claues signare ad denotãdas singulas voces: sed sufficit ponere aliquas p quas ascendendo & descendendo patefiunt proximiores.

dicuntur claues

Voces

* Notæ

Figure 7.3 Detail of Reisch, *Margarita philosophica* (1503), fol. 104
Photograph © Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (86-B18873)

making a clear distinction between the upper hexachord in mensural notation, and the lower hexachord in *Hufnagel*. I believe this is meant to depict the relationship between the sacred body of monophonic plainchant, represented by the *Hufnagel* hexachord, and the more elaborate liberal discipline of polyphonic music, represented by the mensural hexachord. Most fifteenth-century chant sources from German-speaking lands employed *Hufnagel* notation. White mensural notation embodied the strict numbers and proportions presented in the *Margarita philosophica's* previous tract on arithmetic. The act of presenting the liberal art of *Musica* in this way engages the figure of the hexachord as a bridge between Christian musical traditions and humanistic learning.

The introductory illustration to the music section (Figure 7.4) also uses the hexachord to place modern musical practices and ecclesiastical pedagogy at the core of a contemporary understanding of music as a liberal discipline. The classical figure of Pythagoras with his hammers and weights on a scale on the right side of the page contrasts with the variety of contemporary instrumentalists surrounding Musica. These figures represent different earthly musical practices, including the courtly poet with his lute, explicitly identified as such with the label "*poeta*" in later versions of the woodcut, probably indicating that vocal music is included.[87] Right in front of Musica the figure

[87] Multiple copies from different print runs and printers are available from the *Munich Digitization Center*, web, www.digital-collections.de. The "*poeta*" designation might imply improvised musical practice, but in fact, all of the musicians are playing without music.

Figure 7.4 Reisch, *Margarita philosophica* (1503), fol. 97
Photograph © Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (86-B18873)

of a young boy, symbolically moving into the music classroom, carries both a stylus and paper or tablet in his right hand and, slightly ominously, a birch switch in his left, implying both his status as a student and the disciplinary action he will face should he fail to achieve.[88] The prominent inclusion of the

[88] The student figure is also depicted in an illustration on fol. 3 entitled "*Typus Gramatice*." In this illustration, the student is much younger and is being presented with a tablet containing the alphabet. It is interesting that students are most prominent in these two illustrations,

hexachord as a basic element of a liberal arts education indicates that a wide swath of educated society, particularly the wealthy merchant and aristocratic classes, would have recognized it right away and associated it with musical practice and pedagogy. The multifaceted meaning and popular appeal of the hexachord made it an excellent choice as a cantus firmus in motets in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Petrucci's Publication of the Hexachord

The prominence of the hexachord *c*. 1500 is confirmed by the fact that during his Venetian period of publishing activity, Petrucci brought out seven works (shown in Table 7.5) that use the hexachord structurally as a cantus firmus – four motets and three Masses.

These pieces are contained in three of his main publication types – a chanson collection, single composer Mass volumes, and motet anthologies – and Petrucci's prints ensured their wide distribution.[89] All of these works present the hexachord in sustained note values in a single voice, laid out in a large-scale scheme that functions as a compositional constraint or scaffolding for the other voices. This makes the hexachord highly visible

Table 7.5 Hexachord-based pieces published by Petrucci in Venice, 1501–1508

Composer	Title	Date	Publication
Compere	*Virgo celesti*	1501	*Canti B*
Josquin	*Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*	1502	*Misse Josquin*
Brumel	*Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*	1503	*Misse Brumel*
Ghiselin	*Missa De les armes*	1503	*Misse Ghiselin*
Josquin	*Ut Phebi radiis*	1505	*Motetti libro quarto*
Crispinus van Stappen	*Exaudi nos filia*	1508	*Motetti a cinque*
Isaac	*O decus ecclesiae*	1508	*Motetti a cinque*

reinforcing the connection between grammar and music, the major subjects covered in the traditional educational model of the choir school or *maîtrise*.

[89] Notably, except for reprints of the Josquin and Ghiselin Mass collections, Petrucci did not publish any hexachord-based compositions in Fossombrone. Perhaps the vogue for these types of compositions had passed or his music editor in Fossombrone had less interest in this type of composition.

and immediately recognizable on seeing the original mensural notation, even to a viewer with limited music literacy.[90] Why would so many mature and internationally renowned composers, like Isaac and Josquin, base their compositions on this rudimentary kind of tenor, and why did Petrucci or his editors incorporate so many of them in this diversity of publications?

As I have argued above, the individual composers' motivations probably had something to do with the symbolic use of the hexachord as an extension of classical learning into modern musical practice. Whatever their original reasons, Petrucci's inclusion of hexachordal pieces in multiple publications indicates that he believed they would help his volumes appeal to a broad, international market. This market certainly included amateur musicians – members of a class wealthy enough to purchase music prints and engage in music-making – and also probably book collectors, who were not necessarily musically literate at all but certainly humanistically educated in the liberal arts.[91] The hexachord, as a general image, would appeal to both kinds of buyers by validating their more limited musical knowledge with a visible and widely used symbol of music. In this way, Petrucci exploited the notoriety of the hexachord to sell printed polyphony during the first decade of the sixteenth century.

Although the hexachord-based pieces printed by Petrucci differ in genre, length, and musical style, when their tenors are aligned they look remarkably similar, revealing two basic ways of approaching the presentation of the hexachord for which I have coined the terms – "progressive" or "complete" (shown in Table 7.6). The motets by Isaac (*O decus*) and Josquin (*Ut Phebi*) both present a progressive statement of the hexachord in breves, adding or taking a note away with each statement. Josquin uses the ascending form in the prima pars and the descending in the secunda pars, while Isaac cycles through the entire process in a single pars. In the Berlin manuscript, the tenor of *O decus* is only written once, on the opening for the prima pars, because it remains exactly the same for both partes, despite the mensuration change in the other voices. *Ut Phebi* is a real *tour de force*. This piece stands out since it is the only motet that presents the hexachordal cantus firmus as a canon between two voices, includes the

[90] Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales* is a little more difficult to visualize, since it transposes the *L'homme armé* tune to each degree of the natural hexachord, beginning on c and going up a step with each movement. Petrucci ensures that the hexachordal connections of Josquin's *L'homme armé* setting will be recognizable to everyone by appending the phrase "*super voces musicales*" to the title.

[91] For a discussion of potential markets for the motet prints, including book collectors, see Cumming, "Petrucci's Publics."

hexachordal motive in all of the other voices, and ties it explicitly to the solmization syllables through the text.[92] In the prima pars the bassus presents the ascending soft hexachord followed a breve later by the natural hexachord in the tenor voice.[93] In the secunda pars the tenor leads with the descending natural hexachord, followed at a breve by the bassus, again with the soft hexachord. Van Stappen, Brumel, and Ghiselin, on the other hand, present the complete ascending hexachord and the sections conclude with the descending form.[94] Compere's extremely short motet presents only the ascending form, but in diminished note values, like van Stappen's, a feature common in the tenors of isorhythmic motets.[95] Since, as discussed previously, the polyphonic Masses of Brumel and Ghiselin are significantly more complicated in the presentation of their cantus firmi, I have included only information on the initial cantus firmus statements from the Kyrie I. As Josquin's *Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales* uses the hexachord as a reference point for transposition of a preexistent tune, it does not present the hexachord in its basic form. The essential features of these hexachordal pieces are presented in Table 7.6, grouped by their related approaches to the hexachord.

In general it is understood that the preexistent tenor in a piece of Renaissance polyphony generates meaning in relation to the text of the other voices and its previous associations.[96] For instance, a cantus firmus can function to enhance the appropriateness of a Mass or motet to occasional use, either sacred or secular.[97] David Rothenberg has shown how the liturgical and social implications of preexistent tenors also worked to make motets appropriate for a variety of performance contexts, providing a range of meaning rather than a single liturgical function.[98] Writing

[92] This same kind of canon on two versions of the hexachord is an unnotated feature of a later Mass setting by Curtio Mancini, *Missa Papa Clemens VIII cum 6 vocibus*, from the last decade of the sixteenth century. For more on this piece see L. Brothers, "The Hexachord Mass," 76.

[93] For Josquin, *Ut Phebi radiis* see Petrucci's *Motetti libro quarto*, fol. 37v (tenor) and 102r (bassus).

[94] For van Stappen's tenor see van Stappen, *Motetti a cinque libro primo* (1508), fol. 33v; for Brumel's see Brumel, *Misse Brumel*, fol. 25; and for Ghiselin's see the tenor partbook of Ghiselin, *Misse Ghiselin*, fol. 4.

[95] Finscher argues that this may indicate that this was a single section of a longer motet. See commentary in Compere, *Loyset Compère*. The tenor can be found in Hewitt, ed., *Canti B numero cinquanta*, fol. 3r.

[96] The classic text on this subject is by Edgar Sparks, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet,* 1420–1520. For some of the important recent discussions of meaning in cantus firmus compositions see the works of A. W. Robertson, "The Savior, the Woman, and the Head of the Dragon," and "The Man with the Pale Face, the Shroud, and Du Fay's *Missa Se la face ay pale*"; and Kirkman, *Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass*.

[97] Mattfeld, "Some Relationships between Texts and Cantus Firmi," Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay;* Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims*.

[98] David J. Rothenberg, *Flower of Paradise*, and "The Most Prudent Virgin and the Wise King."

Table 7.6 Features of hexachordal motets and Masses published by Petrucci

Composer	Title	vv.	Pars	Hexachord	CF vv.	Asc.	Desc.	Presentation
Isaac	*O decus ecclesiae*	5	2	Natural	T	X	X	Progressive
Josquin	*Ut Phebi radiis*	4	2	Natural & soft (hard)	B & T (Alto)	X	X	Progressive
Compere	*Virgo celesti*	5	1	Soft	T2	X		Complete
Van Stappen	*Exaudi nos filia*	5	2	Natural	T	X	X	Complete
Brumel	*Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*	4	na	All 3	T & S	X	X	Complete
Ghiselin	*Missa De les armes*	4	na	All 3 + Tetrachords	T & S	X	X	Complete
Josquin	*Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*	4	na	Natural	T	X		Transpositional constraint

about the importance of understanding the various subgenres of the motet in the fifteenth century, Julie Cumming explains how the musical features of a composition, such as cantus firmus presentation and texture, also generate meaning in relation to other polyphonic compositions and generic norms.[99]

Although it is not a chant or a secular song, the hexachord does have a clear set of associations, but unusually for a cantus firmus these are drawn from music theory and education and, by the late fifteenth century, from ideas about music history, rather than from specific liturgical or musical repertoire. Although the hexachordal tenors are single voices excised from larger polyphonic compositions, as they are displayed in the partbooks printed by Petrucci they are visually indistinguishable from examples of the interval of the sixth or the hexachord presented in texts about music by Gaffurius and others (shown in Figure 5.1).[100] In his didactic treatise on music, a book clearly intended to be consumed by literate musical amateurs since it was printed in Italian, Lanfranco presented the hexachord in a similar way.[101] The use of the

[99] Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay,* 26.

[100] The example of the interval of a sixth comes from Gaffurius, *Practica musice*, folio a v.

[101] See the examples of the hard and natural hexachords from Lanfranco, *Scintille di musica*, p. 4. Lanfranco also uses the hexachord on his title page (see Figure 7.5). The ascending and descending versions form the shape of an hourglass with all of the sand in the upper chamber, depicted with words describing all the musical knowledge that will be presented in the following pages and enjoyed during leisure time. In this image music and time are fused into a single symbol in the context of a music treatise in the vernacular, accessible to musical amateurs with time to devote to musical pursuits. See Hatter, "*Col tempo*."

hexachord in many theoretical treatises, pedagogical broadsides, and depictions of the Guidonian hand extended its meaning to the widest possible audience of both musical practitioners and enthusiasts. Since the hexachord was broadly understood as an educational tool with a rich history that was intertwined with the practice of ecclesiastical plainchant, but without an association with any specific liturgical occasion, what feasts or secular events would occasion compositions based on the hexachord?

The use of a pedagogical tool in a place that would generally be occupied by a segment from the sacred repertoire of plainchant, or less commonly, a popular secular song, has made understanding these pieces difficult. Analyzing the mythologically inflected and almost incomprehensible text of Josquin's *Ut Phebi,* William Prizer and Jaap van Benthem have both argued that it was composed for a meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece.[102] Neither tackles the particular appeal of the hexachord to this group, despite the fact that it not only represents the entire content of the canonic cantus firmus in the bassus and tenor, but is also the primary compositional and textual constraint in the upper voices. Citing contemporary religious writings, Willem Elders has proposed that in polyphonic compositions the hexachord should be understood as a symbol of Mary, who was called the *scala celestis* or "stairway to Heaven" in devotional writings.[103] He proposes that the ascending form represents the Virgin as the way to Heaven and the descending form, her role as the conduit of God's embodiment on earth. While this is an attractive argument, since only two of the thirteen pieces based on the hexachord (shown in Table 7.1) include Marian content in their texts, it seems unlikely to be the primary meaning of the hexachord in most cases. Instead I propose that these pieces, like those I considered in Chapter 6, formed part of musicians' own efforts to promote themselves and the professional status of the composer.

Interpreting the Hexachordal Cantus Firmus in Motets Printed by Petrucci

As in Gaffurius' *scala* and the representations of the liberal discipline of *Musica* in music-theoretical works and humanistic compendia of knowledge, references to classical learning are combined with ecclesiastical practice in

[102] Prizer, "Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries"; van Benthem, "A Waif, a Wedding and a Worshipped Child."

[103] He cites a version of the Litany of Loreto set by de Monte, the fifteenth-century poet Leonardo Giustiniani, and the late-fifteenth-century theologian Domenico Benivieni as sources for this idea. "The *soggetto ostinato* as a Contextual Sign," 84–89.

some of the motets published by Petrucci, including Josquin's *Ut Phebi radiis,* Isaac's *O decus ecclesiae*, and Compere's *Virgo celestis*. Considering the way that the hexachord was represented and understood by professional musicians and theorists as well as by educated members of the upper-middle class – one of the prime markets for Petrucci's prints – can give us insight into the way that the hexachord functioned as a cantus firmus.

Josquin's *Ut Phebi radiis*

Josquin's motet is the only piece from *c.* 1500 to present the hexachordal cantus firmus in canon.[104] Like Brumel and Ghiselin in their Mass settings, Josquin takes a comprehensive approach to the hexachord, presenting all three versions at the same time. The hexachord is stated in unvaried breves in the canonic cantus firmus at the time interval of a breve and the pitch interval of a fifth between the bassus and tenor, thus incorporating both the soft and natural hexachords. For the last statement at the end of the prima pars (shown in Example 7.4) the altus enters a semibreve before the bassus with the hard version of the hexachord, also stated in unvaried breves.[105] Thus, using syncopation Josquin creates a rising 5–6 sequence that adds harmonic movement to the simultaneous performance of the three hexachords. The superius voice remains silent for most of this passage, drawing the listener's attention to the lower voices while they present all three of the standard hexachords simultaneously.

The text of *Ut Phebi* (Table 7.7) is also based on solmization syllables. Each poetic line begins textually and musically with the same syllables, presented by the tenor and bassus. This constraint results in some dubious and partially incomprehensible text, particularly in the second half, where the syllables are presented in reverse order, from *la* to *ut*.[106] The motet is further shaped by its hexachordal content because Josquin sets each occurrence of the solmization syllables in the text of the upper voices to the corresponding notes in one of the three hexachords.

[104] This device is used in a late-sixteenth-century Mass by Curtio Mancini, *Missa Papa Clemens VIII cum 6 vocibus*. In this Mass, the hexachordal cantus firmus is not notated, but must be realized through canonic instructions. Though there is a canon of leaping fourths in the Ghiselin Mass, it is not a hexachord that is treated canonically.

[105] For the full score see Josquin, *New Josquin Edition*, ed. by Elders, vol. 25. Measure numbers refer to this edition.

[106] Leofranc Holford-Strevens believes that there is no precise translation of this text, but that the game of completing the descending hexachord was the more important goal (personal communication). For another interpretation of the text see van Benthem, "A Waif, a Wedding and a Worshipped Child."

Example 7.4 All three hexachords in Josquin, *Ut Phebi*, mm. 55–62

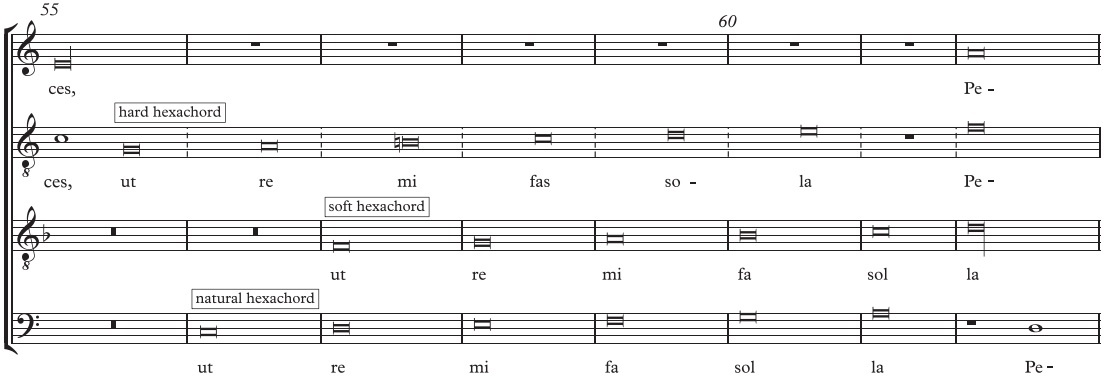


Table 7.7 Text for Josquin, *Ut Phebi radiis*

	PRIMA PARS		SECUNDA PARS
1	**Ut** Phebi radiis soror obvia sidera luna		**La**tius in numerum canit id quoque celica turba,
	Ut reges Salomon sapientis nomine cunctos,		**Lasso l**ege ferens eterna munera mundo:
	Ut remi pontum querentum velleris aurum,	10	**La sol fa** ta mina clara prelustris in umbra,
	Ut remi faber instar habens super aera pennas,		**La sol fa mi** tana de matre recentior ortus,
5	**Ut remi fas sol**vaces traduccere merces,		**La sol fa mi re** ta quidem na non violata,
	Ut remi fas sola Petri currere prora,		**La sol fa mi re ut** rore ta na Geodeon quo.
	Sic super omne quod regnas, O virgo Maria.	14	Rex, O Christe Jesu nostri deus alte memento.

This strict imposition of the hexachord, as a structural element in both the tenor and the imitative texture of the two upper voices, saturates the motet and makes it impossible for the listener or singer to ignore Josquin's impressive manipulation of the most basic element of music pedagogy and his formidable role as the work's creator.

Although the meaning of the text is only vaguely discernible, it is clear that the poet – possibly Josquin or one of his acquaintances – was enthusiastically mixing standard Christian icons with classical references (shown in bold in Table 7.8).[107] Supplications are made to Mary and Jesus respectively in the final lines of the two halves, but references to Apollo and key stories from Greek mythology, like Jason and Daedalus, add depth to solmization-laden texts. The reference to the Golden Fleece of Jason from line 3 of the prima pars returns in the secunda pars as the fleece of Gideon (shown in line 13 of Table 7.7), again blending Christian and classical symbols, in a manner similar to the way the tetrachord and hexachord were blended in music theory texts.[108]

The text of the prima pars, translated in Table 7.8, also includes classical and Christian elements. Although the moon is not necessarily a classical

[107] Klaas van der Heide argues for attributing the text to Jean Molinet on the basis of a similar use of solmization syllables in a poem in praise of a musician. See van der Heide, "New Claims for a Burgundian Origin," 21, and Molinet, *Les faictz et dictz*, ed. Dupire, 804–05 for the text. The use of solmization syllables for poetic effect was a more widespread phenomenon, with examples from Poliziano in Italy, among many others. The meaning of the secunda pars is so obscure that I have chosen not to include a translation. The translation that is used most often, also in the *New Josquin Edition*, is that of Virginia Woods Callahan from "The Riddle of the Text Resolved."

[108] The implications of the reference to the Golden Fleece have been the most discussed feature of this work. See van Benthem, "A Waif, a Wedding and a Worshipped Child" and Prizer, "Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries."

Table 7.8 Classical and Christian elements in Josquin, *Ut Phebi*

1	Ut **Phebi** radiis soror obvia sidera **luna**	As the **Moon**, sister of **Phoebus**, rules with her rays the stars in her path
	Ut reges Salomon sapientis nomine cunctos,	As Solomon rules all kings in the name of the wise,
	Ut remi pontum querentum **velleris aurum,**	As the oars of those in quest of the **golden fleece** rule the sea
	Ut remi **faber** instar habens super aera **pennas**,	As the artificer [**Daedalus**], having **wings** instead of an oar, rules the upper air,
5	Ut remi fas solvaces traduccere merces,	As it is the task of the oar to convey perishable wares,
	Ut remi fas sola Petri currere prora,	As it is the destiny of Peter to navigate by means of one Ship
	Sic super omne quod regnas, O virgo Maria.	So thou, O virgin Mary, rulest over all that is.[109]

symbol, the text emphasizes her relationship to Phoebus, representative of the sun, implicitly evoking astrology and the concept of celestial harmony. Ideas of celestial harmony in music theory from *c.* 1500 are most famously depicted on the frontispiece of Gaffurius' *Practica musice*, another diagram that combines ecclesiastical and classical elements.[110] Josquin's motet is the musical counterpart of Gaffurius' illustration, promoting the classical roots of contemporary ecclesiastical harmony through the syllables of what he understood as Guido's hexachords. In the woodcut published by Gaffurius, Apollo reigns, lute in hand, over the celestial bodies and their modal equivalents while angelic musicians play string instruments perched atop the clouds, as in a religious painting of the Nativity or the Assumption of Mary.

Isaac's *O decus ecclesiae*

Although only fragments of the text of Isaac's motet survive, making it impossible to discover textual references to classical learning such as those evident in Josquin's motet, the relationship between the hexachordal tenor

[109] Translation by Virginia Woods Callahan from the commentary to vol. 25 of the *New Josquin Edition*, ed. by Elders.

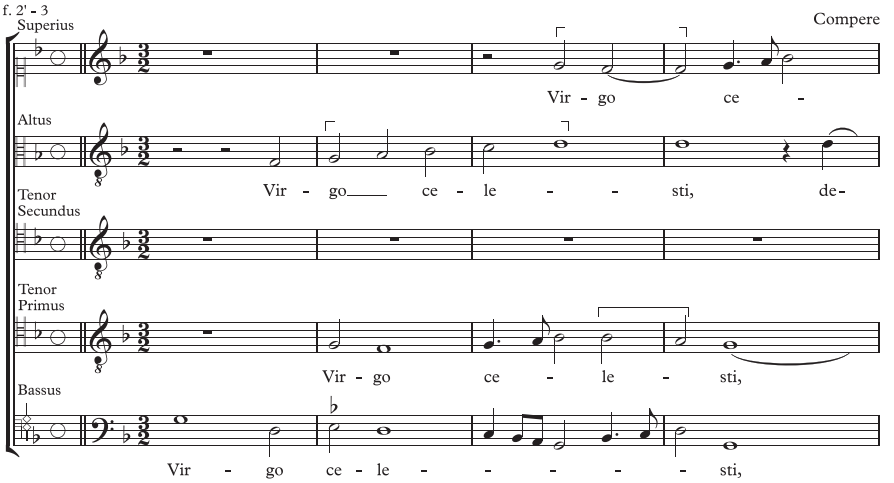
[110] Like his inclusion of the term hexachord, Gaffurius adapted his frontispiece illustration from a diagram in Ramos' *Musica practica* of 1482. Ramos derived his discussion and diagram from Boethius and Martianus Capella, citing them in his lengthy discussion of the topic. Gaffurius, however, does not give Ramos credit for his contribution, perhaps because of their conflict and enmity, discussed previously in this chapter. For more information on the woodcut and its use in Gaffurius' later treatise, *De Harmonica Musicorum Instrumentorum Opus*, see Haar, "The frontispiece of Gafori's *Practica musicae*."

and bassus emphasizes the continuity between Greek theory and late-fifteenth-century ecclesiastical practice. The carefully constructed symmetry of the hexachordal tenor (shown in Figure 5.1) communicates an ideal of ordered, ecclesiastical pedagogy and the glorified figure of Guido. In the secunda pars Isaac uses longer note values to highlight the relationship of the Guidonian/hexachordal tenor with another voice, the Pythagorean bass. In each of these segments the bass is notated with ligatures and sings the intervals derived from some of the simple superparticular ratios (octave, fifth, fourth, and second) beginning and ending on c. These musical ratios are performed against statements of the hexachordal cantus firmus.[111] Each of these intervals was integral to introductory discussions of music theory through the story of Pythagorus' discovery of the connection between ratios and intervals, discussed in Chapter 6 in relation to Busnoys' *In hydraulis*. Isaac's bassus uses almost all the same intervals that Busnoys included in the tenor and text of his motet in honor of Ockeghem. For students being introduced to music in their studies of the liberal arts, the superparticular ratios were clear evidence of the mathematical basis of music and its connection to celestial harmony. Isaac draws attention to these voices by writing the bassus and tenor in significantly longer note values than the other voices, separating them temporally, and highlighting their function as the compositional basis for the other voices, which were of necessity composed around them.

When the bassus is not singing with the tenor it is written in the same smaller note values used by the other voices. In these sections, the bassus tends to define hexachordal and tetrachordal figures. For instance, just after the first long-note section the bassus sings a series of three descending tetrachords, a standard figure in Renaissance music, but significant in this particular context because of its connection to the hexachord. Just before and after the second long-note section it has a descending and then an ascending natural hexachord. Finally, the second staff in the copy in Berlin 40021 opens with a statement of the hard hexachord, followed quickly by two more natural hexachords. Thus, within two brief staves of music Isaac defines a hexachordal figure a total of five times. As Josquin did, Isaac permeates his motet with basic elements of music theory. Like the marginal annotations in Gaffurius' *Practica musice* and Reisch's humanistic text, Isaac seems to be affirming

[111] He clearly includes both a major and a minor second and it is impossible to know his exact tuning, but the implication of superparticular ratios is still evident.

Example 7.5 Hexachord statement in the altus of Compere's *Virgo celesti*, m. 1–4



that contemporary ecclesiastical pedagogy as described by Guido relies on the aural principles and ratios defined by the Greek philosophers, especially Pythagoras.

Compere's *Virgo celesti* and Guido's hymn

The text of Compere's *Virgo celesti* lacks the overt classical references of Josquin's highly original text, setting a fairly standard Marian prayer. Likewise, the overt reference to Greek theory in the structure of Isaac's bassus is missing. Instead the connection between discussions of theory and musical practice are brought out in Compere's motet through the combination of two cantus firmi with associations to music pedagogy and the historical figure of Guido. In addition to the three statements of the hexachord in the tenor secundus, this figure is also stated at the beginning and end of the motet in the altus voice.[112] The first motive that the altus sings is the ascending form of the soft hexachord just like the hard hexachord statement by the altus at the beginning of the Kyrie I in Brumel's Mass (Example 7.5).

This statement in semibreves by the highest-sounding voice in the texture brings the hexachord to the awareness of singers, listeners, and patrons before the first statement in the tenor. In the partbook fragments from St. Gall (SGallS 463) the notation of the hexachord at the beginning of the altus includes hemiola coloration, and hence after the first normal

[112] See Compere's *Virgo celesti*, m. 1–4, from Hewitt, ed., *Canti B*, 92.

semibreve there is a series of four black semibreves and a black breve.[113] These darkened notes emphasize the hexachord visually. At the end of this short motet the altus sings the descending form of the same hexachord, this time presented as two tetrachords. Set against the final sustained d *la* of the tenor this descending hexachord brings closure to an extremely short, pithy motet.

The other cantus firmus in Compere's motet is a paraphrased version of a tune associated with the famous hymn for St. John, *Ut queant laxis*, presented in the tenor primus. The tune is not the same as the one Guido employed for teaching solmization syllables; that particular melody does not seem to have been widely circulated in the liturgy of St. John in the Middle Ages. Although the tune for *Ut queant laxis* that Compere incorporated into his motet was also used for other hymn texts, its inclusion in a motet that also foregrounds a hexachord suggests that the composer was using it as a reference to Guido's famous use of the hymn text, even if the tunes are different. I know of two other works from the sixteenth century that combine the hexachord with a quotation of *Ut queant laxis* – Festa's "Counterpoint 115" and Lassus's short five-voice setting of the hymn, *Ut queant laxis* (shown in Table 7.9).[114]

All three works are brief settings, each consisting of a single pars only. In Festa's piece, which is part of an extensive collection of short, semi-didactic works exploring different facets of contrapuntal practice, the tune used is not Guido's melody, but closer to the one used in Compere's motet.[115] In the

Table 7.9 Hexachord pieces with versions of *Ut queant laxis*

Author	Title	Date	Genres	Tune
Loyset Compere	*Virgo celesti*	By 1502	Cantus firmus motet	Alternate hymn tune
Costanzo Festa	"Counterpoint 115"	1530s	Textless counterpoint	Alternate hymn tune
Orlando di Lasso	*Ut queant laxis*	By 1582	Cantus firmus motet	Guido's tune

[113] A facsimile of SGallS 463 or the *Tschudi Songbook* can be downloaded from the website *E-codices: Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland*, web, www.e-codices.unifr.ch/.

[114] For an edition of the Festa see Festa, *Counterpoints*, ed. by Agee, 228–29, commentary on 286. Agee points out that the title of the counterpoint is probably incorrect since all the pieces in BolC C36, a collection of textless compositions, are labled with numerical designation with feminine endings, while *contraponto* is masculine. For Lassus' motet see Lassus, *The Complete Motets* 12, ed. by Oettinger, 98–99.

[115] In the commentary Agee incorrectly cites the tune paraphrased in the second cantus voice as the one from the *Liber Usualis*, 1504, Guido's version. Festa, *Counterpoints*, ed. by Agee, 286.

Example 7.6 Opening phrases of Lassus, *Ut queant laxis*, m. 1–5

que - ant la - xis - so - na - re fi - bris
que - ant la - xis - so - na - re fi - bris
Ut re mi -
que - ant la - xis - so - na - re fi - bris
que - ant la - xis - so - na - re fi - bris

Example 7.7 Final phrase of the hymn tune compared to the tenor of Lassus, *Ut queant*, m. 17–22

‹San - cte Jo - an - nes› San - cte Jo - an - nes.

Sáncte Jo-ánnes.

brief setting of the hymn text by Lassus, the tenor dramatically intones the solmization syllables at the beginning of each phrase of the text (Example 7.6). While the other voices declaim the rest of the text homorhythmically, none of them utilize the chant tune.[116] The only exception is that in the final phrase (Example 7.7) the tenor sings a falling fifth twice, which is both a paraphrase of the final phrase of Guido's tune and completes the descending hexachord, like the altus in Compere's motet. In all of these pieces the pedagogical implications of the hexachord are linked to ecclesiastical practice by pairing it with the hymn of St. John, evoking the figure of Guido and emphasizing the musical medium.

[116] See di Lasso, *The Complete Motets* 12, ed. Oettinger, 98–99 for the whole piece.

Conclusion

In these motets and Masses, composers use multiple compositional devices to draw attention to their clever use of the chief emblem of music pedagogy – the hexachord – as a cantus firmus. Through the theoretical treatises of Tinctoris, Gaffurius, and their contemporaries, the hexachord had become symbolic of the link between Greek theory and contemporary ecclesiastical practice. Hexachord-based compositions provide interesting insight into the way that musicians were responding and reacting to current debates and trends in music-theoretical discourse. When Brumel presented the entire gamut as a cantus firmus, he valorized this tool as a central element for teaching both monophonic and polyphonic music, through reference to mensural practice in the Credo and simple counterpoint exercises in the opening of the Kyrie. Ghiselin built upon the ideas presented in Brumel's work, expanding his hexachord into tetrachords and the kind of repetitive cantus firmus patterns commonly employed in counterpoint instruction. In their hexachordal motets Josquin and Isaac both drew upon and elaborated the argument for the classical roots of the hexachord, Josquin through allusions to mythology and astrology, and Isaac through the superimposition of the hexachordal tenor over the Pythagorean superparticular ratios in the bass. Thus, as a cantus firmus, the hexachord may be understood primarily as a symbol of the discipline of music and of the musical profession more generally.

The hexachord was a highly recognizable tool of the musical trade, invested with meaning for both musical and nonmusical consumers. Hexachord-based motets and Masses promoted music's place in the *studia humanitatis* by presenting a musical symbol used in encyclopedic works of humanistic learning, like the *Margarita philosophica* of Gregor Reisch, as a structural principle and by making it recognizable to amateurs viewing the score. This concept is exemplified by the format of the title page of Lanfranco's *Scintille di musica* (Brescia, 1533), a music textbook in Italian, marketed to amateurs. In its layout, shown in Figure 7.5, the text is arranged into the shape of an hourglass. The upper portion contains a list of the technical terms and the musical knowledge (translated in Table 7.10) to be presented in the following pages. The edges of the empty lower portion are defined by the syllables of the hexachord. The "*voce di Ut re mi fa sol la*" are made highly visible and symbolic on the front page of this published treatise, representing the future pleasure and enjoyment that a reader and potential buyer could anticipate when

Table 7.10 Translation of the title page from Lanfranco, *Scintille di musica* (Brescia, 1533)

SPARKS OF MUSIC by Giovan Maria Lanfranco from Tetentio Parmigiano, which show how to read plainchant and polyphony, the shapes of note values, the proportions, the modes, counterpoint, and the division of the monochord, with the tuning of various instruments, from which is born a way, whence each person can learn by himself the syllables Ut Re Mi Fa Sol La. La Sol Fa Mi Re Ut. Translation by Julie Cumming

SCINTILLE DI MVSICA DI
GIOVAN MARIA LANFRANCO DA TE-
rentio Parmegiano, che moſtrano a leggere il Canto Fermo,
& Figurato, Gli accidēti delle Note Miſurate, Le Pro-
portioni, I Tuoni, Il Contrapunto, Et la diuiſione
del Monochordo, Cō la accordatura de ua-
rii inſtrumenti, Dalla quale naſce un
Modo, onde ciaſcū per ſe ſteſſo
imparare potra le uoci di
La. La
Sol Sol
Fa Fa
Mi Mi
Re Re
Vt Vt.
In Breſcia per Lodouico Britannico M. D. XXXIII.

Figure 7.5 Title page from Lanfranco, *Scintille di musica* (Brescia, 1533)
Photograph © The British Library Board, Hirsch I. 303

s/he purchased this text and invested the effort and time needed to learn its contents. Through the familiar shape of the hourglass and the prominent display of the ascending and descending hexachord, music itself is marketed as a valuable pastime to the upper- and upper-middle-class consumers of printed music-theory texts.

Certainly, a knowledgeable musical patron was likely to be interested in hexachords and solmization syllables, as an account by a Mantuan diplomat visiting Ercole I d'Este attests. He writes that he found Ercole "in the midst of several singers," where he was singing "not songs but *la sol fa* on books of Masses for his amusement."[117] While these compositions and the use of solmization in general may have been amusements for people like Ercole, they were special kinds of musical prayers for composers, who were constructing and reconstructing their place as professionals and intellectuals in the early modern world.

[117] Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, 150–51.

8 | Conclusion

Tu sola consola: Memorial and Professional Identity in Josquin's Prayer Motet

Josquin's *Illibata dei virgo nutrix* is perhaps the ultimate early modern musical prayer for musicians and the perfect culmination of this study of self-referential features in music of the late fifteenth century.[1] This singular composition merges the textual and musical elements discussed in both Parts I and II of this book. Josquin's motet combines a personal acrostic (as in Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar,* discussed in Chapter 2), a universal plea for musicians (as in the anonymous *Decantemus in hac die*, see Chapter 3), and a cantus firmus that is emblematic of both the Virgin Mary (patron saint of musicians, see Chapters 1 and 2) and the musical "tools of the trade" (as in the Masses of Ockeghem and Brumel, discussed in both Chapters 6 and 7).[2] As Thomas Brothers has pointed out, there are significant similarities between Josquin's *Illibata* and the two self-referential motets by Busnoys, *In hydraulis* and *Anthoni usque*, similarities which Brothers attributes to their genre. Brothers argues that these three motets all bear "vestiges of the isorhythmic tradition," which is also the title of his article.[3] I propose, however, that it was more than just an issue of genre, but also a self-conscious effort to evoke the power of a tradition of musical works for the spiritual and professional benefit of living composers.

The text and music of the two partes of Josquin's well-known motet are clearly differentiated in content and style, a fact that has bothered modern

[1] For a few of the many discussions of *Illibata de virgo nutrix* see Antonowycz, "*Illibata dei virgo*"; Sherr, "Josquin's Roman Style"; Macey, "*Illibata dei virgo nutrix* and Galeazzo Maria Sforza"; Clutterham, "Dating Josquin's Enigmatic Motet"; Rodin, *Josquin's Rome*.

[2] Josquin's acrostic, shown in bold font in Table 8.1, was discovered by Albert Smijers in 1925, and established the composer's preferred spelling of his own name as "Josquin Des Prez." See "Een kleine bijdrage over Josquin," 313–19.

[3] Brothers, "Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition," 37–45.

musicologists. The prima pars of *Illibata* incorporates an acrostic indicating the name of a musician, situating it within a group of other musicians' motets.[4] The text for the prima pars (shown in Table 8.1) forms two stanzas of six decasyllabic lines, rhymed aabaab and then bbcbbc. In contrast, the text of the secunda pars (shown in Table 8.2) is a melange of simple devotional material which divides easily into three basic sections, an ABA' form. This contrast was not a coincidence, but rather reflects the way that Josquin constructed his appeal on behalf of the community of musicians, evoking both the liberal discipline of *Musica* and also popular devotional musical practices.

The text of the prima pars blends pseudo-classical imagery with Christian figures, similar to the *scala* diagram in Gaffurius' *Practica musice*, and refers to the act of musical prayer, as in the texts of many of the musicians' motets and laments.[5] The letters of the acrostic and important words are highlighted in bold in Table 8.1, and classical references are underlined. Mary is the mother of "the Olympian King" (line 2), with Jupiter as Christ, and she also repairs the sin of Eve (line 4). Music and singing are evoked in a pseudo-classical context and as a means of prayer. First, Mary is asked to grant the singers success in the "joyous handiwork of the Muses" (line 8), expressed in the singers' prevailing "hymns," perhaps indicating specifically the act of writing music or composing, which is followed directly by a reference to the act of performing ("throats call out to you," lines 10–11). That these "hymns," the work of the Muses, are intended to be understood as written, is reinforced by the presence of two references to the Bible, both as "the Word" (line 3) and "scripture" (line 6). These references use the Bible as a means to establish the authority of a written text, in this case a musical text. The first equates Christ with the written "Word" (*verbum*, as in John 1:1) and the second uses the Word/Christ to establish Mary's efficacy as a mediator.

The most elaborate textual construction is where the singers ask for aid in the act of performing musical prayers in lines 10–12. These phrases highlight the physical act of singing by asking the Virgin to consider specifically their throats (*guttura*), the source of their voices and the praises they sing to her. As in Compere's *Sile fragor* (Chapter 3), this motet asks for strengthened sounds and voices in the context of both Christian Marian

[4] For example, see the discussion in Chapter 2 of the acrostic in the motetus voice of Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar*, and the red ink indicating the incorporation of the name of the author into the initial and final text phrases of Busnoys' *Anthoni usque limina,* discussed in Chapter 3.

[5] For my discussion of Gaffurius' *scala* diagram see Chapters 6 and 7.

Table 8.1 Text for Josquin, *Illibata dei virgo nutrix*, prima pars

	Illibata dei virgo nutrix	Spotless virgin, nurse of God;
	Olympi tu regis o genetrix	o you mother of the Olympian King,
	Sola parens verbi puerpera,	who alone gave birth to the Word,
	Que fuisti **Eva** reparatrix,	who has made good the sin of **Eve**,
5	**V**iri nephas tuta mediatrix,	and are the mediator for man's sin,
	Illud clara luce dat scriptura.	as the scriptures clearly tell us.
	Nata nati alma genitura	Born of your son to be his mother,
	Des ut leta musarum factura	grant that the joyous handiwork of the Muses
	Prevaleat ymis et sit "**ave**"[6]	shall prevail in our hymns and **be like an 'Ave'**
10	**R**oborando sonos, ut **guttura**	strengthened by sounds, and that our **throats**
	Efflagitent, laude teque pura	may call out to you with pure praises
	Zelotica arte clamet "**ave**."	and may with zealous art shout: **'Ave'.**

Translation adapted from Elders[7]

prayer and the classical Muses (see lines 4 and 6 of Compere's text in Table 3.12). In addition to highlighting the throat, these lines by Josquin are full of references to sound: "*sonos*," "*efflagitent*," "*clamet*," and possibly also "*laude*" as a popular Italian genre. The final line of text is the highpoint of this pars, describing the ideal action of the singers: zealous expression of the angel Gabriel's salutation, the "*Ave*." As in Compere's *Omnium bonorum plena* (Chapter 3), Josquin refers to the "*Ave*" as a symbol for musical offerings to Mary in lines 9 and 12.[8] The idea of Mary as the antidote for Eve's sin in the garden is common in late medieval Marian prayers.[9] Medieval texts allude to the fact that when read backward, the name "Eva" becomes the greeting used by Gabriel, "*Ave*," another sort of word puzzle, like the solmization puns and acrostics discussed in Chapters 2, 6, and 7.[10]

The secunda pars is an expansion of this single, but richly symbolic word "*Ave*," and represents the idealized act of musical prayer described in the prima pars – a sort of a song within a song using an ABA' form. The two A sections are typical of rhymed liturgical poetry, following the same poetic

[6] In Petrucci's *Motetti a cinque* the words "*sit ave*" are replace by "*suave*." The version in Petrucci could easily have been a typographical error ("it" replaced by "u"). Since Jesse Rodin has convincingly argued that this piece was composed while Josquin was in Rome (*Josquin's Rome*, 93–94), I accept the VatS 15 text as the correct version.

[7] Elders, Commentary to des Prez, Vol. 24, *New Josquin Edition*, 32.

[8] For the use of the *Ave* as a symbol for musical devotions see Hatter, "Reflecting on the Rosary."

[9] For a discussion of the *Ave/Eva* issue see C. Wright, *Maze and the Warrior*.

[10] For a thorough discussion of various aspects of ludic elements in compositions see Katelijne Schiltz's book, *Music and Riddle Culture in the Renaissance*.

form as the *Ave Maria* prayer (5+5+5 syllables) and each five-syllable segment also ends with one of that prayer's two end rhymes, -um or -a. The B section is less metrical and more idiosyncratic, but is likewise reminiscent of devotional and liturgical texts, in particular as it includes a quote from the Song of Songs. There is no acrostic to compliment that of the prima pars.[11] Instead, each textual line begins with a greeting addressed to Mary – always *Ave* in the A sections and *Vale* or *Salve* in the B section. Perhaps this is an extension of the wordplay on EVA–AVE, discussed above, as both "*Vale*" and "*Salve*" include the letters of the word "*Ave*." They are also prominent in other important Marian prayers, like the *Salve Regina*.

In the second line of the A' section, the entire first phrase of the *Ave Maria* prayer is finally quoted in full, fulfilling the allusion that began with the first mention of "Eve" in line four of the prima pars (see Table 8.1).[13] The first line of the B section is from the Song of Songs 6:9, but is also used in a well-

Table 8.2 Text for Josquin, *Illibata dei virgo nutrix*, secunda pars

A	**Ave** virginum decus hominum, coelique porta.	Hail, adornment of virgins and men, door to heaven.
	Ave lilium flos humilium, virgo decora.	Hail, o lily, bud of humility, gracious virgin.
	—	—
B	**Vale** ergo tota pulchra ut luna, electa *ut sol* clarissima gaude.	Greetings therefore, completely beautiful as the moon, elect *as the sun*, most brilliant one, rejoice.
	Salve tu sola consola amica *la mi la* canentes in tua laude.	Hail to you, sole beloved, console them, who sing *"la mi la"* in your praise!
	—	—
A'	**Ave** Maria, mater virtutum veniae vena,	Hail Mary, mother of virtues, vein of forgiveness.
	Ave Maria, gratia plena, dominus tecum.	Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with you.
	Ave Maria, mater virtutum. Amen	Hail Mary, mother of virtues. Amen

Translation adapted from Elders[12]

[11] For the debate around the acrostic of the prima pars and proposed acrostics for the secunda see Smijers, "Een kleine bijdrage over Josquin"; van den Borren, "Une hypothèse concernant le lieu de naissance de Josquin"; Titcomb, "The Josquin Acrostic"; Clutterham, "Dating Josquin's Enigmatic Motet." In addition, Willem Elders includes an alternate acrostic that he credits to Herbert Kellman in his Commentary to Vol. 24, *New Josquin Edition*, 31.

[12] Commentary to Vol. 24, *New Josquin Edition*, 32.

[13] Apparently unaware of the similarity in poetic form with what I have called the A section, John Milsom has noted that at this point "the text suddenly assumes a new level of directness, exchanging its previously rich humanistic language for a simple trope of the *Ave Maria*, a prayer as familiar to fifteenth-century Christians as the Lord's Prayer itself." See "Motets for Five or More Voices," 285.

known Magnificat antiphon, *Virgo prudentissima*. The *Virgo prudentissima* chant was regularly used as the basis for polyphonic compositions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[14] It reinforces some of the classical imagery of the prima pars, invoking astrology through its references to the moon and the sun. In contrast to most of the text of the secunda pars, which resembles generic devotional material, the second line of the B section is certainly unique to this motet because it asks for aid for those who sing "*la mi la*," the solmization syllables for the notes that form the tenor of this composition.

This singular cantus firmus consists of a simple ostinato on the notes d-a-d and g-D-g. On a single staff, the tenor from Petrucci's *Motetti a cinque* shows the basic skeleton for the entire prima pars, consisting of three groups of six perfect long rests and three perfect long notes, and reinforcing the implied groupings by threes on the levels of the maxima, long, and breve.[15] In VatS 15 the syllables, "*la mi la*" are explicitly written beneath each reiteration of this motto, regardless of whether the notes are d-a-d from the soft hexachord, or g-D-g from the fictive hexachord on B♭ (see Table 8.3).[16] Based on the Marian subject of the text and Josquin's use of *soggetto cavato* in other pieces, including the *Missa Hercules dux Ferrariae*, this motive is generally understood to be derived from the vowels of the name of the patron saint of musicians, "Maria."[17]

The contrast between the texts of the two parts of Josquin's motet is reinforced by their dissimilar musical styles, including different approaches to mensuration and text setting. The prima pars is entirely in ○ and also uses major or perfect modus, an unusual and esoteric practice which is indicated in

Table 8.3 Interpretive levels of the cantus firmus of Josquin's *Illibata dei virgo*

Source of *soggetto cavato*:	Ma-ri-a	Ma-ri-a	Ma-ri-a
– Soft hexachord on F	*La mi la*	[*sol re sol*]	*La mi la*
– Fictive hexachord on B♭		*La mi la*	
Letter names:	d a d		d a d
		g D g	

[14] For a discussion of musical settings of this prayer and its association with Maximilian I, see Rothenberg, "The Most Prudent Virgin and the Wise King."

[15] See *Motetti a cinque libro primo*, fol. 21r, available online from the Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC09197672.

[16] Rather than the alternate solmization as of "*sol re sol*" in the natural hexachord on C.

[17] Sherr, "Josquin's Roman Style." Patrick Macey argues that this refers to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, his patron in Milan; "*Illibata dei virgo nutrix* and Galeazzo Maria Sforza,"197.

the original sources by the notation of long rests in groupings of three breves, rather than the more usual arrangement of long rests as groups of two breves.[18] Just as the classical references and structure of the text for the prima pars heighten its style, the conscious evocation of perfect modus broadens the awareness of temporal relationships in this section. In contrast, the secunda pars begins in ¢, the most common mensuration sign in use at the turn of the sixteenth century, resulting in all the voices functioning on the same basic temporal level. Similarly, while the prima pars displays markedly sinuous melismatic contours and lengthy duos, the secunda pars is primarily syllabic, built of short homorhythmic duos, evoking the texture of simple devotional music like laude, and reflecting the unpretentious prayer text.

By incorporating solmization syllables emblematically into the text and music of all the voices in both phrases of the B section of the secunda pars Josquin fused the disparate elements of his composition into an affirming performance of musical community.[19] Solmization syllables form the skeleton of both the humanistically influenced prima pars and the more familiar, prayer-based secunda pars, highlighting the role of the tools of the trade in the professional and spiritual advancement of musicians. In both phrases of the B section these syllables, usually confined to the tenor, escape into the text and music of the other voices.[20] The first instance (shown in Example 8.1a) occurs at the words "*tota pulchra ut luna, electa* ***ut sol***." Beginning with the superius, all the voices except the tenor sing G–D or an ascending *ut sol* in the hard hexachord, a musical pun on the words, "*ut sol*" or "as the sun."[21] The tenor simultaneously sings the "*la-mi-la*" motto in the same rhythmic values as the other voices, but in the soft hexachord. As noted above, this little bit of text is from the Song of Songs, but it is also included in the popular *Virgo prudentissima* Magnificat antiphon. Although the chant melody of *Virgo prudentissima* does not have a G–D (*ut sol*) at these words, in their motets based on this tune both Josquin and Isaac abandon the chant to exploit the potential for a musical pun, aligning these syllables with their musical equivalent.[22]

[18] See the discussion on perfect modus and modus disposition in T. Brothers, "Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition."

[19] There is an edition of this motet by Elders in des Prez, *New Josquin Edition,* vol. 24.

[20] Jesse Rodin has pointed out another spot where the ostinato is stated in a different voice. With the final statement of the cantus firmus in the prima pars, the bassus sings the *la-mi-la* motive in shorter note values, m. 76–78. Unlike the examples in the secunda pars, however, this does not coincide with the solmization syllables in the text. *Josquin's Rome*, 65–66.

[21] Reminiscent of the "*ut*" solmization puns in the triplum of Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar.*

[22] Beginning in m. 175 of Isaac's *Virgo prudentissima*, transcribed in *Weltliche Werke*, ed. by Johannes Wolf, vol. 32 and also see Lerner's edition of Isaac's *Opera omnia*, Vol. 11; and m. 68 in Josquin's motet, des Prez, *New Josquin Edition*, vol. 25, ed. by Elders.

Example 8.1 Solmization syllables in all the voices of Josquin's *Illibata dei virgo*

a. "ut sol", m. 118-120

Superius: ut sol clar
Contratenor I: ut sol clar
Tenor: *la mi la*
Contratenor II: ut sol
Bassus: ut sol

b. "la mi la", m. 130-135

la mi la can - en - tes
Sal - - ve tu so - - la "la mi la"
la mi la *la mi la* *la mi la*
"la mi la" "la mi la"
"la mi la"

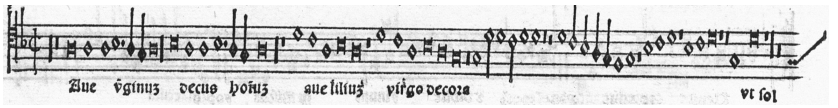
At the second phrase of the B section, beginning with the word "*Salve*" (see Table 8.2), when Josquin asks Mary to save the singers who sing "*la mi la*," the ostinato figure explodes out of the tenor. In Example 8.1b the contratenors I and II and the bassus join the tenor, singing the "*la-mi-la*" motto and pervading the texture with this reference to both Mary and to a basic tool of music pedagogy. The superius, though it is provided with the

same text as the other voices, is excluded from the solmization pun on "*la mi la*," but it turns out to be making its own proclamation about solmization through repetitive statements of the descending soft hexachord. Just before the other voices perform the "*la mi la*," the superius sings an ascending gg-dd fifth, the same "*ut sol*" in the hard hexachord as quoted in the previous phrase. It then mutates on the dd from *sol* to *la*, and then sings a descending soft hexachord. Perhaps it is no coincidence that at the beginning of the B section of the text the superius sings a descending *la-mi* (dd-aa), marking the beginning of the solmization puns with a tetrachord in four semibreves.[23] The repeated figure in the superius voice for the A' section is a hexachord broken up into two tetrachords, almost exactly replicating the descending hexachord in the altus at the end of Compere's hexachordal *Virgo celesti* (discussed in Chapter 7). Like the superius in Senfl's *Fortuna ad voces musicales*, Josquin confines the hexachord and tetrachord to the top voice in the texture.[24] Thus, all the voices in *Illibata* participate in the solmization puzzle or pun that Josquin has set forth in the tenor.

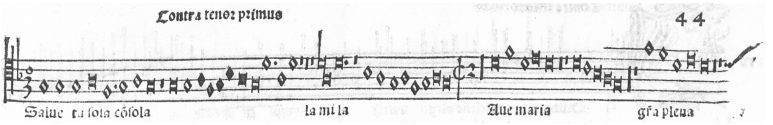
Petrucci's text underlay in *Motetti a cinque* brings out these points of intersection between solmization, text, and music in *Illibata*, showing that it was meaningful to an early-sixteenth-century audience. The contratenor primus book, shown in Figure 8.1a, has infrequent text underlay for the secunda pars, but the editor places solmization syllables in the appropriate spaces for each of the puns. At the end of the final staff on folio 43^{v} the words "*ut sol*" are carefully placed beneath the g-d after a long segment with no text underlay. Similarly, on 44^{r} "*la mi la*" has been placed under D-A-D in the middle of another section devoid of text, shown in Figure 8.1b. Thus, like the careful underlay and accidentals in both of the manuscript sources for *Omnium bonorum plena* (discussed in Chapter 3), we can see how another professional musician, Petrucci's music editor, responded to self-referential content in a musical prayer for musicians, acknowledging this ludic element of the composition and bringing it to the awareness of subsequent readers and users of this edition. This manner of pointing out these solmization puns is aligned with Petrucci's publication of multiple volumes that included compositions based on hexachordal tenors, discussed in Chapter 7.

[23] These examples are all clearly visible in the superius partbook of *Motetti a cinque (Venice, 1508)*, accessed through the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, web, www.onb.ac.at.

[24] Could this, like the "*ut*"s in the triplum of Du Fay's *Fulgens iubar*, associate it with choirboys? Perhaps not at the Sistine Chapel, where choirboys were not used, but more generally. Senfl's motet is included in Appendix A, but is not discussed in this book.



a "*ut sol*" on fol. 43 v



b "*la mi la*" on fol. 44 r

Photographs © 2019 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

Figure 8.1 Solmization syllables in Petrucci's *Motetti a cinque,* contratenor primus

In this context, the solmization content in Josquin's prayer text, "*Salve tu* ***sola*** *con****sola*** *amica* ***la mi la*** *canentes in tua laude*" (translated as "Hail to you, sole beloved, console them, who sing 'la mi la' in your praise!"), functions on multiple symbolic levels:[25]

1. as an appeal for the singer or singers of the tenor line of this particular piece, which is the part performing the "*la-mi-la*" ostinato;
2. as a prayer for all the performers of this motet, since at this point the "*la-mi-la*" motive and hexachord have pervaded the text and texture; and,
3. since the symbolic cantus firmus stands for "Maria" the patron saint of musicians, this can also be interpreted as a universal request for the entire community of musicians.

As creators of enduring written musical prayers, composers were master users of the tools of the musical trade, arranging them for patrons, for their own remembrances, and for the benefit of their whole community.

Tinctoris and the *primi compositores*

In chapter 19 of his *Complexus effectuum musices* (*c.* 1474–75), Johannes Tinctoris affirms the social and intellectual distinction between the ephemeral music of performance and the enduring art of what he calls the

[25] Although it is probably a reference to solmization syllables, the "*sola*" is not realized in the musical setting.

Table 8.4 Excerpt from ch. 19 of Tinctoris, *Complexus effectuum musices*

Nostro autem tempore, experti sumus quanti plerique musici gloria sint effecti. Quis enim Joannem Dunstaple Guillelmum Dufay, Egidium Binchois, Joannem Okeghem, Anthonium Busnois, Joannem Regis, Firminum Caron, Jacobum Carlerii, Robertum Morton, Jacobum Obrecht non novit.	In our time we have experienced how very many musicians have been endowed with glory. For who does not know John Dunstable, Guillaume Dufay, Gilles Binchois, Johannes Ockeghem, Antoine Busnoys, Johannes Regis, Firminus Caron, Jacob Carlier, Robert Morton, Jacob Obrecht?
Quis eos summis laudibus non prosequitur, quorum **compositiones per universum orbem divulgate,** dei templa, regum palatia, privatorum domos summa dulcedine replent.	Who does not accord them the highest praises, whose **compositions, spread throughout the whole world,** fill God's churches, kings' palaces, and private men's houses, with the utmost sweetness?
Traceo plurimos musicos eximiis opibus dignitatibusque donatos, quoniam et si honores ex hiis adepti sunt, **fame immortali** quam **primi compositores** sibi **extenderunt**, minime sunt conferendi.	I say nothing of the very many distinguished musicians who have been presented with outstanding wealth and dignities, for although they have obtained honours from them, these are not at all to be compared with the **immortal fame** that the **first composers** have **prolonged** for themselves.
Illud enim fortune, istud autem virtutis opus est. Unde Virgilius Oeneidos libro decimo: Stat sua cuique: dies breve et irreparabile tempus Omnibus est vite, sed **famam extendere factis**. Hoc virtutis opus."[27]	The former [performer] belongs to fortune, but the latter [composer] to virtue. Whence Virgil, in the tenth book of the Aeneid, "Each has his appointed day; short and irretrievable is the span of life for all; but to **prolong fame by deeds** – that is the task of virtue."

Translation from Wegman[28]

primi compositores. In the first segment of text in Table 8.4 Tinctoris provides a list of well-known musicians who have been "endowed with glory," spanning multiple generations in roughly chronological order from Dunstable to Obrecht.[26] Wegman suggests that the inclusion of Obrecht in this list causes a little wrinkle in the dating of this treatise, since he was only a teenager in 1475, the date provided in the Prologue.[29] I suggest that this is further evidence of Tinctoris' desire to foreground the continuity of the musical tradition, pointing not only back to established masters of the past generation, like Dunstable

[26] The placement of Caron, Carlier, and Morton seem to diverge slightly from the correct chronological order.

[27] *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum* (*TML*), web, www.chmtl.indiana.edu.

[28] Wegman, "Obrecht and Erasmus," 117. [29] See Wegman, "Obrecht and Erasmus," 117–21.

and Binchois, who were remembered through their works, but also forward to Obrecht, a promising young practitioner, just beginning to find his compositional voice. As in the musicians' motets and laments discussed in Chapters 2, 3, and 4, and the St. Luke paintings created for painters' guilds (discussed in Chapters 1 and 5), Tinctoris is reinforcing the continuity of a creative tradition between different generations.

It becomes clear in the following text that the glory and universal acclaim accorded to these musicians is on account of their compositions being "spread throughout the whole world" (shown in bold in the second section of Table 8.4). This is a direct reference to the portability and durability of written music, as opposed to the ephemerality of musical performance. He goes on to say that in contrast to the glory and gifts of Fortuna accorded to many famous "*musicos*" or performers, the "*primi compositores*" have established a more enduring fame through musical works made by their own hands. These scores can be transported across Europe to "fill God's churches, kings' palaces, and private men's houses, with the utmost sweetness." His point is reinforced by a quote from a classical authority, Book X of Virgil's *Aeneid*: "Each has his appointed day; short and irretrievable is the span of life for all; but to **prolong fame by deeds** – that is the task of virtue." Thus, fifteenth-century musicians believe that enduring virtue was made and extended through "*factis*," translated by Wegman as "deeds," but which, in the context of the rest of this passage, is better understood as "made things" or "works."[30] Like the compositions incorporating musical "tools of the trade," discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, Tinctoris evokes the "madeness" of written, composed musical works, promoting composition as a distinct musical activity and profession.

Josquin's *Illibata* and many of the other self-referential compositions have posed something of a problem for modern audiences. We have found ourselves unable to cope with the extreme contrast between the two partes in Josquin's *Illibata*, and we have also felt unsure about how to interpret the "in-jokes" and solmization puns in other seemingly serious compositions, like *Sile fragor* and *O decus ecclesiae*. If we understand these pieces as remnants of the memorial culture of guilds and confraternities of musicians and in the context of the emergence of composition as a profession, these problems are easily resolved. In these works, the interaction between

[30] For some of the key articles in the debate around what Tinctoris means by the term "*facta*" or "*resfacta*" see Ferand, "What is *Res Facta?*"; Bent, "*Resfacta* and *cantare super librum*"; Blackburn, "On Compositional Process"; and Wegman, "From Maker to Composer."

musical and textual elements experienced through performance as well as the visual features of the primary sources allow us to comprehend these works in a way that is particularly complex, colorful, and instructive. Katelijne Schiltz talks about musical riddles as being interrogative, or demanding of the reader, and also interactional, implying an interpretive group with the skills and motivation to discover their answers.[31] The self-referential compositions discussed in this book similarly imply the presence of readers skilled and invested in the process and materials of musical prayer. Like the paintings created by painters for their own altars and communal spaces, these compositions are enduring artifacts of the community of musicians active in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. While the itinerant lifestyle of ecclesiastical singers did not allow them, for the most part, to establish formal guilds, these compositions, transferable across the same routes that the performers traveled, created a virtual community and maintained connections between musicians and patrons in different places and across centuries, even to our own time and hopefully beyond.

[31] From her presentation at the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance special session "Notation as Mode of Thinking" on May 30, 2014. Also see her new book, Schiltz, *Music and Riddle Culture*.

Sources and Sigla

Manuscript Sources

Short / RISM	Full Citation	Date	Provenance
BarBC 454	Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, Ms 454	1500–34	Spain
BasUB F. IX. 25	Basel, Universitäts-Bibliothek, Ms F. IX. 25	16th c.	Netherlands
BerK 78 B 17	Berlin-Dahlem, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78 B 17	1470s	Paris
Berlin 40021	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Mus. 40021	*c.* 1485–1500	Torgau
BerlPS 40031	Berlin, former Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Mus. 40031 (*olim* Z 31)	*c.* 1525–50	Germany
BM Add 31922	British Museum Additional Ms 31922	*c.* 1510–20	England
BM Add 29401–5	British Museum Additional Mss 29401–5	*c.* 1613	Norfolk
BolBM A.71	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna Ms. A.71	1510–15	Bologna
BolC C36	Bologna, Civico Bibliografico Musicale Ms. C36	1602	Mantua
BolC Q 17	Bologna, Civico Bibliografico Musicale Codex Q 17	1490	Florence
BolC Q 18	Bologna, Civico Bibliografico Musicale Codex Q 18	early 16th c.	Bologna
BrusBR 228	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, Ms 228 (Alamire scriptorium)	by 1516	Mechlin
BrusBR 5557	Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 5557	1460–80	Bruges?
BufSUNY M/02	Buffalo, State University of New York, Music Library Ms M/02/A3/p	*c.* 1520	North Italian / South German
Cambrai 124	Cambrai, Mediathèque Municipale, Ms. 125–28 (Olim 124)	1542	Bruges
Capirola MS	Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MS minus VM 140 "Capirola MS"	1517	Venice
Chantilly 564	Chantilly, Musée Condé, 564 (formerly 1047)	*c.* 1390	France
ChicNL M91	Chicago, Newberry Library, MS VM 1578 .M91 "Newberry Partbooks"	1528–29	Florence
Chigi Codex	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Chigi C VII 234	1498–1503	Brussels
CopKB 1872	Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Ms 1872	1541–43	Denmark

(*cont.*)

Short / RISM	Full Citation	Date	Provenance
CopKB 291	Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Ms Thott 291–98	1470s	Dijon
DijonBM 517	Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, Manuscript 517	*c.* 1465–69	France
DresSL 1/D/6	Dresden, Sächsische Landsbibliothek, Ms. Mus. 1/D/6 (*olim* Oels)	1560–80	Silesia
FlorBN 229	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Banco Rari 229	1492–93	Florence
FlorC 2439	Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, Ms. Basevi 2439	*c.* 1508	Brussels/Mechlin
GothaF A98	Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Schloss Friedenstein (formerly Landsbibliothek), Ms. Chart. A 98, "Gothaer Chorbuch"	by 1545	Torgau
JenUB 32	Jena, Universitäts-Bibliothek, Cod. Mus. 32	1495–1500	Wittenberg
Krakow 40634	Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska Ms. Mus. 40634	*c.* 1515–20	Vienna?
KrakPAN 1716	Kraków, Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Ms. 1716 ("Lublin Keyboard Tablature")	1537–9	Krakow
LeiML 1440	Leiden, Museum in de Lakenhal MS 1440	1559	Netherlands
LeipU 1494	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms 1494	*c.* 1490–1504	Leipzig
LeipU 49/50	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Thomaskirche 49 (1–4)	1558	Leipzig
LeuvHC C1	Leuven, Collection of G. Huybens MS C1	after 1550	Antwerp
LonBL 35087	London, British Library, Ms Add. 35087	1505–06	Bruges
LonBL Add 10336	London, British Library, Add. 10336	*c.* 1500	England
LonLP 466	London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 466	1526	England
LucAS 238	Lucca, Archivio di Stato, MS 238	*c.* 1470	Bruges
LucSSM A.8	Lucca, Seminario di San Martino, A.8	1576–77	Italy
Medici Codex	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laureziana, MS Acquisti e doni 666	1518	Italy
ModBC Mus. X	Modena, Duomo, Biblioteca e Archivio Capitolare MS Mus. X	*c.* 1520–30	Italy
ModE alpha.X.1.11	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, A.X.I.II.	*c.* 1448	Ferrara
ModE M.1.13	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS M.1.13	1481	Ferrara
ModE M.1.2	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms M.1.2	*c.* 1505	Ferrara
MonteA 871	Monte Cassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia. MS 871	1480–1500	Italy
MunSB 1536	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Musica MS 1536	1583	Bavaria
MunSB 3154	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Musica MS 3154 "Leopold Codex"	*c.* 1466–1511	Innsbruck

(*cont.*)

Short / RISM	Full Citation	Date	Provenance
MunSB 46	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Musica MS 46	1555–63	Bavaria
MunSB 7	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Musica MS 7	1512–30	Belgium
Oporto 714	Oporto, Biblioteca Pública municipal, MS 714	1460–67	Italy
OxfBL 376–381	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Mus. Sch. E. 376–381 (Forrest-Seather part books)	1528–30 and later	
ParisBNF 15123	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 15123 (Pixérécourt Chansonnier)	*c.* 1580–84	Florence
ParisBNF 1597	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1597 (Lorraine Chansonnier)	*c.* 1500	Paris
PerBCA 1013	Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, MS 1013	1509	Venice
PiacFM s.s	Piacenza, Archivio del Duomo, Catalogo del Fondo Musicale	1530s?	Italy
PozU 7022	Poznan, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka im. Adama Michiewicza, MS 7022	*c.* 1500	Lviv?
PragP 47	Prague, Strahov Monastery Library, MS D.G.IV.47	1460–80	Bohemia or Silesia
ReggioSP s.s.	Reggio Emilia, Archivio della Chiesa di San Prospero, Mss. s.s.	*c.* 1534–37	Ferrara
RomeC 2856	Rome, Bibli. Casanatense, MS 2856	*c.* 1479–81	Rome
SegC s.s.	Segovia Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Ms. s. s.	*c.* 1502	Spain
SevBCC 5–1-43	Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina 5–1-43	15th c.	Spain
SGallS 462	St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 462	1510–*c.* 1530	Paris
SGallS 463	St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 463 "Tschudi Liederbuch"	*c.* 1540	Switzerland
SGallS 464	St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 464	*c.* 1510–20, *c.* 1540	Switzerland
SGallS 530	St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 530 "Sicher Keyboard Tablature"	*c.* 1503–31	St. Gall
SienaBC K.I.2	Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli'Intronati, K. I. 2	*c.* 1500	N. Italy
Speciálník Codex	Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech v Hradci Králové, II A 7 (Speciálník Codex)	late 15th–early 16th c.	Prague
StutWL I 47	Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Mus. I 47	1507	Bavaria
ToleBC 21	Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares del la Catedral Metropolitana	1549	Spain
TrentC 88	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio MS 1375	*c.* 1456–60	Trent
TrentC 89	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio MS 1376	*c.* 1460–80	Trent
TrentC 91	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio MS 1378	*c.* 1460–80	Trent

(*cont.*)

Short / RISM	Full Citation	Date	Provenance
UlmS 237	Ulm, Münster Bibliothek, Von Schermar'sche Familienstiftung, Ms. 237	1515–*c.* 1540	Flemish?
VatCG XII.2	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Giulia XII.2	1543	Rome
VatCG XII.4	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Giulia XII.4	1536	Rome
VatS 14	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina Ms. 14	1472–81	Naples
VatS 15	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina Ms. 15	*c.* 1495–1500	Rome
VatS 154	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 154	1543–60	Italy
VatS 197	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina Ms 197	*c.* 1492–95	Rome
VatS 24	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 24	*c.* 1538–50	Rome
VatS 35	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina Ms. 35	*c.* 1487–90	Rome
VatS 41	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina, Ms. 41	*c.* 1503	Rome
VatS 45	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina Ms. 45	1511–14	Rome
VatS 63	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina, Ms. 63	*c.* 1480–90	Rome
VatS 93	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cappella Sistina 93	1580s	Rome
VatSP B80	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. San Pietro B 80	1464–74	Rome
VerBC 757	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, 757	*c.* 1500	Italy
VerBC 758	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, 758	*c.* 1500	Verona
WarBU 2016	Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Oddzial Zbiorów Muzycznych 2016 (was in Breslau)	*c.* 1500	Poland
WienNB 11778	Wien Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 11778	1521–25	Brussels
WienNB 11883	Wien Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriften- und Inkunabelsammlung, Ms. 11883	1500–15	Low Countries
WienNB 18810	Wien Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriften- und Inkunabelsammlung, Ms 18810	1524–33	Augsburg or Munich
ZwicRS 32	Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek MS XXXI 32	late 16th c.	Bavaria
ZwicRS 73	Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek MS 73	*c.* 1550	Bavaria

Print Sources

Short / RISM	Full Citation	Contents
BL K.8.b.7.(5.)	Tenor, [A book of 12 motets by Layolle (Lyon, *c.* 1525)]	Motets
Canti B	*Canti B numero cinquant*a (Venice: Petrucci, 1502) [RISM 1502/2]	Chansons
Canti C	*Canti C* (Venice: Petrucci, 1504) [RISM 1504/3]	Chansons
du Chemin 1570/C1718	*Les meslanges de Maistre Pierre Certon* (Paris: du Chemin, 1570)	Chansons, psalms, etc.
Faber 1550	Heinrich Faber, *Ad musicam practicam introductio* (Nuremberg: Johann Montanus & Ulrich Neuber, 1550)	Treatise
Faber 1568	Heinrich Faber, *Ad musicam practicam introductio* (Mühlhausen: Georg Hantzsch, 1568, reprint 1571)	Treatise
Finck 1556	Hermann Finck, *Practica musica* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1556)	Treatise
Fries 1554	Johann Fries, *Brevis musica isagog* (Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1554)	Treatise
Glareanus 1547	Heinrich Glareanus, *Dodecachordon* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1547)	Treatise
Heyden 1537	Sebald Heyden, *Musicae, id est, artis canendi libri duo* (Nuremberg: Johannes Petreius, 1537)	Treatise
Heyden 1540	Sebald Heyden, *De arte canendi . . . libri duo* (Nuremberg: Johannes Petreius, 1540)	Treatise
Misse Brumel	*Misse Brumel* (Venice: O. Petrucci, 1503) [B4643]	Masses
Misse Ghiselin	*Misse Ghiselin* (Venice: Petrucci, 1503) [RISM G1780]	Masses
Misse Josquin	*Misse Josquin* (Venice: Petrucci, 1502)	Masses
Motetti 4	*Motetti libro quarto* (Venice: O. Petrucci, 1505) [RISM 1505/2]	Motets
Motetti 5	*Motetti a cinque libro primo* (Venice: O. Petrucci, 1508) [RISM 1508/1]	Motets
Motetti A	*Motetti A* (Venice: Petrucci, 1502) [RISM 1502/1]	Motets
Motetti C	*Motetti C* (Venice: O Petrucci, 1504) [RISM 1504/1]	Motets
RISM 1507/6	Spinacino, *Intabolatura di lauto, libro secondo* (Venice: Petrucci, 1507)	Intabulations
RISM 1520/3	*Motetti novi et chanzoni franciose a quatro sopra doi* (Venice: Antico, 1520)	Motets
RISM 1520/4	*Liber selectarum cantionum quas vulgo mutetas appellant* (Augsburg: Grimm & Wirsung, 1520)	Motets
RISM 1532/6	*Sextus liber duas missas habet* (Paris: Attaingnant, 1532)	Masses
RISM 1534/17	*Der erste Teil. Hundertainundswentzig newe Lieder* (Nuremberg: Formschneider, 1534)	Lieder
RISM 1534/5	*Liber tertius: viginti musicales quinque, sex, vel octo vocum motetos habet* (Paris: Attaingnant, 1534)	Motets

(*cont.*)

Short / RISM	Full Citation	Contents
RISM 1538/3	*Secundus tomus novi operis musici, sex, quinque et quatuor vocum* (Nuremberg: Formschneider, 1538)	Motets
RISM 1538/8	*Symphoniae iucundae atque adeo breves quatuo* (Wittenberg: Rhau, 1538)	Motets
RISM 1539/1	*Liber quindecim missarum* (Petreius: Nürnberg, 1539)	Masses
RISM 1545/15	*Le septiesme livre contenant vingt & quatre chansons a cincq et a six parties* (Antwerp: Susato, 1545)	Chansons, laments
RISM 1545/2	*Concentus octo, sex, quinque, & quator vocum, omnium iucundissimi* (Augsburg: Ulhart, 1545)	Motets
RISM 1546/8	*Selectissimae symphoniae compositae ab excellentibus musicis* (Nuremberg: Montanus & Neuber, 1546)	Motets
RISM 1547/5	*Liber tertius sacrarum cantionem quatuor vocum, vulgo moteta vocant* (Antwerp: Susato, 1547)	Motets
RISM 1554/16	*Motetti del Labirinto a cinque voci* (Venice: Scotto, 1554)	Motets
RISM 1554/30	*In epitaphiis Gasparis Othmari* (Nuremberg: Montanus & Neuber, 1554)	
RISM 1558/4	*Novum et insigne opus musicum* (Nuremberg: Berg & Neuber, 1558)	Motets
RISM 1564/1	*Thesaurus musicus continens selectissimas* (Nuremburg: Montanus & Neuber, 1564)	Motets
RISM 1564/16	*Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghesche* (Venice: Gardano, 1564)	Greghesche
RISM 1564/2	*Thesauri musici tomus secundus* (Nuremberg: Montanus & Neuber, 1564)	Motets
RISM 1566/17	*Di Cipriano de Rore il quinto libro di madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1566)	Madrigals
RISM 1568/6	*[Novi atque catholici thesauri musici] Liber Quintus et ultimus . . .* (Venice: Gardano, 1568)	Motets
RISM 1582d	*Sacrae cantiones quinque vocum* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1582)	Motets
RISM 1589/17	*Jakob Paix Intabulations, Thesaurus motetarum* (Strasbourg: B. Jobin, 1589)	Motets
RISM M 4017	*Selecti aliquot moduli, & in 4, 5, 6, & 8 vocum harmoniam distincti, liber primus* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1555)	Motets
RISM M1407-1555	*Joannis Mouton sameracensis musici praestantissimi selecti aliquot moduli, & in 4, 5, 5 & 8 vocum* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1555)	Motets
RISM V 27	*Jacobi Vaet Flandri Modulationes*, Liber secundus (Venice: Gardano, 1562)	Motets
Scotto JM 1565	*Motetti di Jachet da Mantoa a cinque voci. Libro primo di novo ristampati* (Venice: Scotto 1565)	Motets
Wilfflingseder 1563	Ambrosius Wilfflingseder, *Erotemata musices practicae* (Nuremberg: Christoph Heussler, 1563)	Treatise
Zanger 1554	Johann Zanger, *Practicae musicae praecepta* (Leipzig, 1554)	Treatise

Appendix A Music about Music and Musicians

This table provides source information on almost 100 pieces that display self-referential features, either textual or musical. It is organized into five approximate time periods of composition (indicated below) and is then sorted alphabetically by composer. The number of voices (vv.) is noted in the fourth column, with a number in parenthesis indicating the original number in cases where some of the voice parts are now lost. The four following columns indicate the relevant chapter in this book (2 & 3, 4, 6, and 7). The (x) shows that a piece is relevant to a chapter but was not included in any of its tables or discussion. The ninth column lists pieces derived from *soggetto cavato*, a topic that it was not possible to discuss in detail in this study but is nonetheless relevant and may indicate a future area for investigation. The sources for the sigla listed in the final column can all be found in the tables for Manuscript Sources and Print Sources.

Time Periods

0) 1390–1450
1) 1450–1470
2) 1470–1510
3) 1510–1530
4) 1530–1600

Composer	Title	Time period	vv.	Chs. 2 & 3	Ch. 4	Ch. 6	Ch. 7	Add.	Sources
Andrieu	"Armes amours"	0	4		x				Chantilly 564; MS. Paris, Bibl. Nat. 840, f. 28 [text only]
Binchois	*Novum cantum molodie*	0	4	(x)					ModE A.X.I.II
Dunstable	[tenor from treatise]	0	1 (3?)			(x)			LonBL Add. 10336; LonLP 466
Anon.	*Ave mundi spes Maria*	1	8			(x)			MunSB 3154; Trent 89
Anon.	"La plus grant chiere de jamais"	1	3	(x)					Dijon BM 517 (only source with this text); ParisBNF 15123 "Seiay des"; FlorBN 229 "Seiay des.."
Busnois	*Anthoni usque limina*	1	5 to 4	x		x			BrusBR 5557
Busnois	*In hydraulis*	1	4	x		x			TrentC 91; MunSB 3154
Compere	*Omnium bonorum plena*	1	4	x					TrentC 91; VatSP B80
Eloy d'Amerval	*Missa Dixerunt discipuli*	1	5			x			VatS 14
Petrus Domarto	*Missa Spiritus almus*	1	4			x			LucAS 238; TrentC 88; PozU 7022; VatS 14; ModE M.1.13
Du Fay	*Ave regina celorum III*	1	4	x					VatSP B80
Du Fay	*En triumphant de Cruel Deuil*	1	3		x				Oporto 714
Du Fay	*Fulgens iubar / Puerpera, pura parens*	1	4	x					ModE A.X.I.II
Ockeghem	*Missa Cuiusvis toni*	1	4			x			VatS 35; Krakow 40634; Chigi Codex; RISM 1539/1
Ockeghem	*Missa Prolationum*	1	4			x			Chigi Codex; WienNB 11883
Ockeghem	*Mort tu as navré / Miserere*	1	4		x				DijonBM 517; MonteA 871

(*cont.*)

Composer	Title	Time period	vv.	Chs. 2 & 3	Ch. 4	Ch. 6	Ch. 7	Add.	Sources
Ockeghem	"Prenez sur moi"	1	3 x 1					x	CopKB 1872; Canti C; Dijon BM 517
Ockeghem	*Ut heremita solus*	1	4					x	Motetti C; Finck 1556
Roelkin	"De tous biens playne"	1	2			x			PerBCA 1013; SegC s.s.; WarBU 2016
Agricola	*Cecus non judicat*	2	3				x		Berlin 40021; SGallS 462; Bol Q 17; RISM 1538/9; Speciálník Codex; LeiU 1494; MunSB 3154; SegC s.s.
Agricola	*Pater meus agricola est*	2	3	(x)					Motetti 4
Agricola, Ghiselin	*Alexander / Ghiselin*	2	2	(x)					PerBCA 1013
Anon.	*Bonus et miserator dominus*	2	5					x	BolC Q 18
Anon.	*Decantemus in hac die*	2	4	x					Motetti 4
Anon.	*Deus fortitudo mea*	2	4					x	BolC Q 18
Anon.	"Il estoit ung bonhomme"	2	4				(x)	x	ParisBNF 1597
Anon.	*Musica, quid defles?*	2	4		x				RISM 1538/8
Anon.	*Sol fa mi re*	2	4					x	BolC Q 18
Anon.	*Spes mea*	2	4					x	BolC Q 18
Brumel	*Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*	2	4			x	x		Misse Brumel; VatS 45; Stut I.47; fragments: FlorBN 229; PerBCA 1013; Heyden 1540; VerBC 757; SienaBC K.I.2; BolC Q 18; Speciálník Codex, and intabulations: RISM 1507/6; and Capirola MS
Busnois	*Maintes femmes*	2	4					x	Canti C; SevBCC 5–1-43

(*cont.*)

Composer	Title	Time period	vv.	Chs. 2 & 3	Ch. 4	Ch. 6	Ch. 7	Add.	Sources
Compere	*Sile fragor*	2	4	x					VatS 15; Speciálník Codex; Motetti A; Chigi Codex; BarBC 454; VerBC 758
Compere	*Virgo celesti*	2	5				x		Canti B; SGallS 463; SGallS 464
Crispinus van Stappen	*Exaudi nos filia*	2	5 (4)				x		Motetti 5
Pierre de la Rue	*Plorer, gemir, crier* / Requiem	2	4		x				FlorC 2439
Ghiselin	"Las mi lares vous donc"	2	3					x	RomeC 2856
Ghiselin	*Missa De les armes*	2	4				x		Misse Ghiselin; RomeC 2856 (3vv Christe only)
Isaac	*O decus ecclesiae*	2	5	(x)			x		Motetti 5; Berlin 40021; LeipU 1494 (in two diff. places)
Isaac	*Rogamus te piisima virgo/ La mi la sol*	2	4					x	Motetti C; FlorC 2439; BM Add 31922; BolC Q 18; others in Boorman
Isaac	*Virgo prudentissima*	2	6	(x)				x	SGallS 464; SGallS 463; CopKB 1872; RISM 1520/4; BufSUNY M/02; ZwicRS 32; RISM 1520/4; RISM 1538/3; RISM 1558/4; RISM 1589/17
Josquin	*Absolve, quaesumus, Domine* / *Requiem*	2	6		x				ToleBC 21
Josquin	*Ce povre medicant/ Pauper sum ego*	2	3	x			x		BrusBR 228; FlorC 2439; LonBL 35087
Josquin	*Illibata Dei virgo*	2	5	x				x	Motetti 5; VatS 15

(*cont.*)

Composer	Title	Time period	vv.	Chs. 2 & 3	Ch. 4	Ch. 6	Ch. 7	Add.	Sources
Josquin	*Missa Hercules Dux Ferrariae*	2	4					x	BarcBC 681; BolC R142; BolSP 31; BrusBR 9126; BasU F.IX.25; HerdF 9821; JenaU 3; and more
Josquin	*Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales*	2	4				x		VatS 154; BasUB F. IX. 25; JenUB 32; ModE M.1.2; WienNB 11778; VatS 197; VatCG XII.2; Misse Josquin
Josquin	*Missa La sol fa re mi*	2	4					x	VatS 41; Misse Josquin and many others
Josquin	"Nymphes des bois" / *Requiem*	2	5		x				Medici Codex; RISM 1545/15; Motetti 5
Josquin	*Ut Phebi radiis*	2	4				x		UlmS 237; Motetti 4
Josquin	*Virgo prudentissima*	2	4					x	DresSL 1/D/6; HradKM 7; MunU 322–5; SGallS 463; Gp 1537; M&N 1559–2; Motetti A; 1 intabulation
Josquin	"Vive le roy"	2	4			x		x	Canti C
Obrecht	*Inter praeclarissimas virtutes / Estote fortes in bello*	2	4	(x)		x			SegC s.s.
Obrecht	*Mille quingentis / Requiem*	2	4		x				FlorC 2439; SegC s.s.; Motetti C
Obrecht	*Regina celi*	2	2			x			SegC s.s.
Ramos de Pareia	*Mundus et musica et totus concentus*	2	4 x 1						Flor BR 229
Pipelare	*Ave Maria . . . /quae peperisti*	2	5					(x)	Motetti 5
Tinctoris	*Difficiles alios delectat pangere cantus*	2	3			x			PerBCA 1013

(*cont.*)

Composer	Title	Time period	vv.	Chs. 2 & 3	Ch. 4	Ch. 6	Ch. 7	Add.	Sources
Anon.	*Absolve, quaesumus, Domine / Requiem*	3	7		x				PiacFM s.s
Anon.	*Puzzle Canon V*	3	3					x	Henry VII Ms
Anon.	*Fletus date et lamentamini*	3	5		x				LeuvHC C1 (contrafactum of *Nymphes des bois*)
Benedictus Appenzeller	*Musae Jovis*	3	4		x				Cambrai 124; RISM 1545/15
Baston, Josquin?	*Eheu dolor / Requiem*	3	6		x				ParisBNF 1597
Avery Burton	*Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*	3	5?				x		OxfBL 376–381
Dunstable	*Puzzle Canon III*	3	3						BM Add 31922
Fayrfax	*Mese Tenor (puzzle)*	3	4						BM Add 31922
Fayrfax	*Paramese Tenor (Puzzle)*	3	4						BM Add 31922
Costanzo Fenza	"Counterpoint 115"	3	5				x		BolC C36
Robert de Fevin	*Missa La sol fa re mi*	3	4		(x)			x	MunSB 7
Gombert	*Musae Jovis*	3	6		x				RISM 1545/15
John Lloyd	*Puzzle Canon I*	3	4						BM Add 31922
John Lloyd	*Puzzle Canon II*	3	4						BM Add 31922
Pierre Moulu	*Mater floreat florescat*	3	4	(x)					Medici Codex
Jean Mouton	*Exsultet conjubilando Deo/Sine macula beatus Romanus/ Pater eccle-siae, Romane*	3	8	(x)			x		RISM M1407-1555; RISM 1564/1; MunSB 1536

(*cont.*)

Composer	Title	Time period	vv.	Chs. 2 & 3	Ch. 4	Ch. 6	Ch. 7	Add.	Sources
Jean Mouton	"Qui ne regret-toit le gentil Fevin?"	3	4		x				RISM 1520/3
Richafort	*Requiem (possibly for Josquin)*	3	6		(x)				RISM 1532/6; LeiML 1440; ModBC Mus. X; MunSB 46
Senfl	*Fortuna ad voces musicales*	3	4				x		RISM 1534/17
Senfl	"Lust hab ich gehabt zur Musica"	3	4	(x)			x		WienNB 18810
Verdelot	*Recordare domine / Parce domine*	3	5		x				ChicNL M91; VatG XII.4; RISM 1534/5 and others
Vinders	*O mors inevitabilis / Requiem*	3	7		x				MunSB 1536; RISM 1545/15; RISM 1564/2
Anon.	*Ergone conticuit*	4	4		x				RISM 1547/5
Pierre Certon	*Musiciens, chantre melodieux*	4	6 (5)		x				du Chemin 1570/C1718
Costanzo Festa	*Counterpoint 104*	4	5					x	BolC C36
Costanzo Festa	*Counterpoint 96*	4	4					x	BolC C36
Costanzo Festa	*Counterpoint 98*	4	4	(x)					BolC C36
Andrea Gabrieli	*Sassi, Palae, Sabbion, del Adrian lio*	4	5		(x)				RISM 1564/16
Jachet of Mantua	*Dum vastos Adriae/ Josquini antiquos*	4	5	(x)					RISM 1554/16; Scotto JM 1565
Lassus	*Ut queant laxis*	4	5				x		RISM 1582d

(*cont.*)

Composer	Title	Time period	vv.	Chs. 2 & 3	Ch. 4	Ch. 6	Ch. 7	Add.	Sources
Othmayr	*Non secus atque olim*	4	5?		x				RISM 1546/8; ZwicRS 73
Palestrina	*Quai rime fur si chiare*	4	4						RISM 1555
Regnart	*Defunctorum charitates*	4	7		(x)				RISM 1568/6; MunSB 1536 and others
Cipriano de Rore	*Concordes adhibete / Vive Adriane*	4	5		x				RISM 1566/17
Jacobus Vaet	*Continuo lachrimas / Requiem aeternam*	4	6		x				RISM 1558/4; RISM V 27
Byrd	"Ye sacred muses"	4	5		(x)				BM Add. Mss 29401–5

Appendix B Sixteenth-Century Masses Based on the Hexachord

This table list all the Masses composed during the sixteenth century which include the hexachord as a structural device. It is also organized by the same time periods that were used to create Appendix A, listed again here. This table includes the number of voices (vv.) and at least one source for the piece. Some of these are lost and we only know about them because they are mentioned in letters or treatises. For more information on these and the later seventeenth- and eighteenth-century hexachord Masses, please consult Lester Brothers' dissertation, which I have relied on heavily in compiling this table: "The Hexachord Mass: 1600–1720." PhD diss.: University of California, Los Angeles, 1973.

Time Periods:

0) 1390–1450
1) 1450–1470
2) 1470–1510
3) 1510–1530
4) 1530–1600

Composer	Title	Time period	vv.	Sources (not complete concordances)
Brumel	*Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*	2	4	Misse Brumel; See App. A for complete list.
Ghiselin	*Missa De les armes*	2	4	Misse Ghiselin; RomeC 2856 (3vv Christe only)
Avery Burton	*Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*	3	5(6)	OxfBL 376–381
Blasius Ammon	*Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*	4	4	Missae quauor vocibus (Vienna: Formica, 1588) [A 941]
Ginés de Boluda	*Hexachord Mass*	4	?	Lost Toledo source
Stefano Felis	*Missa super voces musicales La sol fa re mi ut*	4	6	Nürnberg, Landeskirchliches Archiv, Ms 33 f. 62–129; another MS and a print.
Jocobus de Kerle	*Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*	4	4	Sex Misse (Venice: Gardano, 1562) [K 446}
Curzio Mancini	*Missa Papa Clemens VIII cum 6 vocibus*	4	4 (6)	VatS 93 (Canon seu Modus Canenci dictam : Missam super six Stellas)
Critobal Morales	*Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*	4	4	TaraAC 5; GranCR s.s.; and others
Palestrina	*Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*	4	6	Missarum liber tertius, 4–6vv (Rome, 1570) [P 664] and others
Pietro Pontio	*Hexachord Mass*	4	?	Lost
Francesco Rosselli	*Missa La sol fa mi re ut*	4	5	LucSSM A.8
Pietro Vinci	*Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*	4	6	*Missarum cum quinque, sex, & octo vocibus, liber primus* (Venice: Scotto, 1575) [V 1659]

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Agricola, Alexander. *Opera Omnia*. Edited by Edward R. Lerner. 5 vols. CMM 22. American Institute of Musicology, 1961–70.

Anonymous II. *Tractatus de Discantu*. Translated by Albert Seay. Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1978.

Bellingham, Bruce. *Sixteenth-Century Bicinia: A Complete Edition of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. MS 260*. Madison: A-R Editions, 1974.

Benedictines of Solesmes, ed. *Liber Usualis*. Tournai: Desclee Company, 1961.

Bent, Margaret, ed. *Two 14th-Century Motets in Praise of Music*. North Harton, UK: Antico Edition, 1977.

Binchois, Gilles. *The Sacred Music of Gilles Binchois*. Edited by Philip Kaye. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Blackburn, Bonnie J., Edward E. Lowinsky, and Clement A. Miller, eds, *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

Bologna Q 18 (early 16th c.): Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale (Olim 143). Introduction by Susan Forscher Weiss. Facsimile Editions of Prints and Manuscripts. Peer, Belgium: Alamire, 1998.

Brumel, Antoine. *Opera Omnia*. Edited by Bart Hudson. 6 vols. CMM 5. Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1969–72.

Burtius, Nicolaus. *Musices opusculum*. Facsimile. Bologna: Forni Editore, 1969.

Burtius, Nicolaus. *Musices opusculum*. Translated by Clement A. Miller. Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1983.

Busnoys, Antoine. *Collected Works*. Edited by Richard Taruskin. Masters and Monuments of the Renaissance 5. Gen. ed. Leeman Perkins. 2 vols. New York: Broude Trust, 1990.

Buxheim Organ Book. Facsimile. Introduction by Eileen Southern. Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1963.

Cancionero de la Catedral de Segovia. Edited by Ramón Perales de la Cal. Facsimile. Segovia: Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad, 1977.

Carlier, Gilles, and Johannes Tinctoris. *On the Dignity and the Effects of Music: Two Fifteenth-Century Treatises*. Edited by Reinhard Strohm and J. Donald Cullington. London: Institute of Advanced Musical Studies, King's College London, 1996.

Castiglione, Baldassare. *The Book of the Courtier: The Singleton Translation*. Edited by Daniel Javitch, A Norton Critical Edition. New York: Norton, 2002.

Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550. 5 vols. Renaissance Manuscript Studies. Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, Hänssler Verlag, 1979–1988.

Choirbook of the Burgundian Court Chapel: Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Ms. 5557. Introduction by Rob C. Wegman. Peer: Musica Alamire, 1989.

Cochlaeus, Johannes. *Tetrachordum musices*. Translated by Clement A. Miller. Dallas, TX: American Institute of Musicology, 1970.

Codex Chantilly: Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, Ms. 564. Facsimile. Edited by Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone. 2 vols. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008.

Compere, Loyset. *Opera Omnia*. Edited by Ludwig Finscher. 5 vols. CMM 15. Amsterdam: American Institute of Musicology, 1958–72.

d'Amerval, Eloy. *Missa Dixerunt discipuli*. Edited by Agostino Magro and Philippe Vendrix. Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 1997.

d'Arezzo, Guido. *"Regule rithmice," "Prologus in antiphonarim," and "Epistola ad michahelem": Critical Text and Translation*. Translated by Dolores Pesce. Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1999.

de Domarto, Petrus. *Complete Works: Vol. II. Missa Spiritus almus*. Edited by David Kidger. Moretonhamptonstead, Newton Abbot, Dover, UK: Antico Edition, 1994.

des Prez, Josquin. *New Josquin Edition*. Edited by Willem Elders, David Fallows, James Haar, Lewis Lockwood, Jaap van Benthem, Howard Mayer Brown, Ton Braas, Barton Hudson, Thomas Noblitt, and Martin Just. Utrecht: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1987–.

des Prez, Josquin. *Opera omnia*. Amsterdam: G. Alsbach, 1957–.

Dufay, Guillaume. *Opera omnia*. Edited by Heinrich Bessler. 6 vols. CMM 1. Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1951–66.

Dufay, Guillaume. *Two Songs*. Edited by David Fallows. Early Music Series, gen. ed. Howard Mayer Brown. London: Oxford University Press, 1975.

Fayrfax, Robert. *Collected Works*. Edited by Edwin B. Warren. 3 vols. CMM 17. Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1959–.

Festa, Constanzo. *Counterpoints on a Cantus Firmus*. Edited by Richard J. Agee. Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1997.

Fevin, Robert de. *Collected Works of Robert de Févin*. Edited by Edward Clinkscale. Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1993.

Filocamo, Gioia, ed. *Florence, BNC, Panciatichi 27: Text and Context*. Monumenta Musica Europea II/1. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.

Fortuna desperata: Thirty-Six Settings of an Italian Song. Edited by Honey Meconi. Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 37. Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2001.

French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century. Edited by Willi Apel and Samuel N. Rosenberg. CMM 53. Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1970–72.

Fuller, Sarah, ed. *The European Musical Heritage, 800–1750*. Revised edition. Boston: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2006.

Gaffurius, Franchinus. *Practica musice*. Translated by Clement A. Miller. Dallas, TX: American Institute of Musicology, 1968.

Gaffurius, Franchinus. *Practica musice: A Facsimile of the Milan, 1496 Edition*. New York: Broude Brothers Limited, 1979.

Gallicus, Johannes. *Ritus canendi*. Edited by Albert Seay. 2 vols. Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1981.

Gennrich, Friedrich, ed. *Troubadours, Trouvères, Minne- und Meistergesang*. Translated by Rodney G. Dennis. Cologne: Arno Vold Verlag, 1960.

Ghiselin-Verbonnet, Johannes. *Opera omnia*. Edited by Clytus Gottwald. Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1961–68.

Glarean, Heinrich. *Dodecachordon: A Facsimile of the 1547 Basel Edition*. New York: Broude Brothers Limited, 1967.

Glarean, Heinrich. *Dodecachordon*. Translated by Clement A. Miller. Dallas, TX: American Institute of Musicology, 1965.

Gombert, Nicolas. *Opera omnia*. Edited by Joseph Schmidt-Görg. Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1951.

Harrison, Frank Ll. ed. *Musicorum Collegio: Fourteenth-Century Musicians' Motets*. Monaco: L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1986.

Hewitt, Helen, ed. *Canti B Numero Cinquanta (Venice: Petrucci, 1502)*. With an introduction by Edward E. Lowinsky. Texts edited and annotated by Morton W. Briggs, translated by Norman B. Spectator. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.

Heyden, Sebald. *De arte canendi*. Translated by Clement A. Miller. Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1972.

Hothby, Johannes. *La calliopea legale*. Translated and edited by Timothy L. McDonald. Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1997.

Hothby, Johannes. *Tres tractatuli contra Bartholomeum Ramum*. Edited by Albert Seay. Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1964.

Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music: Three Medieval Music Treatises. Translated by Warren Babb, edited by Claude V. Palisca, and indexed by Alejandro Planchart. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978.

Isaac, Heinrich. *Opera omnia*. Edited by Edward R. Lerner. Vols. 1–11. Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1974–2011.

Isaac, Heinrich. *Weltliche Werke*. Edited by Johannes Wolf. Vols. 28 and 32. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1959.

Just, Martin. *Der Mensuralkodex Mus. ms. 40021 der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin*. Tutzing: Schneider, 1975.

Lanfranco, Giovanni Maria. *Scintille di Musica (Brescia, 1533)*. Facsimile. Bologna: Forni Editore, 1970.

Lasso, Orlando di. *The Complete Motets* 12. Edited by Rebecca Wagner Oettinger. Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance. Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2006.

Lowinsky, Edward E. ed. *The Medici Codex of 1518: A Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de'Medici, Duke of Urbino*. 3 vols. Facsimile, edition, and commentary. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Marix, Jeanne ed. *Les musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne au xve siècle*. Paris: Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1937.

Masses for the Sistine Chapel: Vatican City Apostolia Vaticana, Cappella Sistina, Ms 14. Edited by Richard Sherr. Monuments of Renaissance Music 13. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.

Molinet, Jean. *Les faictz et dictz de Jean Molinet*, vol. 2. Edited by Noël Dupire. Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1937.

Novum et insigne opus musicum, sex, quinque, et quatuor vocum (Nurnberg: Berg and Neuber, 1558–59). Edited by Howard Mayer Brown. New York: Garland Publishing, 1986.

Obrecht, Jacob. *New Obrecht Edition*. Edited by Chris Maas et al. 18 vols. Amsterdam: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1983–99.

Ockeghem, Johannes. *Collected Works*. Edited by Dragan Plamenac and Richard Wexler. 3 vols. American Musicological Society, 1959–92.

Ockeghem, Johannes. *Masses and Mass Sections*. Edited by Jaap van Benthem. 3 vols. Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1994–2004.

Ockeghem, Johannes. *Missa Cuiusvis Toni: For Four Voices: Version in the Phrygian Mode*. London: Vanderbeek & Imrie, 1989.

Ockeghem, Johannes. *Missa Prolacionum*. Edited by David Condon. Fazer Editions of Early Music. Espoo, Finland: Fazer Music, 1992.

Ockeghem, Johannes. *Ockeghem's Missa Cuiusvis Toni: In Its Original Notation and Edited in all the Modes*. Edited by George Houle. Bloomington, IN: Publications of the Early Music Institute, 1992.

Ornithoparchus, Andreas. *Andreas Ornithoparchus: His "Micrologus" or Introduction*. Translated by John Dowland. London: Snodham, 1609.

Ornithoparchus, Andreas and Thomas Morley. *A Compendium of Musical Practice: Musica Active Micrologus*. Edited by Gustave Reese and Steven Ledbetter. New York: Dover, 1973.

Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, MS 1013. Microfilm.

Petrucci, Ottaviano. *Ottaviano Petrucci: Catalogue Raisonne*. Edited by Stanley Boorman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Petrucci, Ottaviano. *Selections from "Motetti libro quarto" (Venice, 1505)*. Edited by Richard Sherr. Sixteenth-Century Motet 3. New York: Garland Publishing, 1991.

Petrucci, Ottaviano, ed. *Missarum liber: Agricola, Ghiselin, De la Rue, Josquin*. Facsimile. Rome: Vivarelli e Gullà, 1973.

Philomathes, Venceslaus. *Musicorum libri quatuor, compendiose carmine elucubrati (Vienna: H. Vietor & J. Singriener, 1512)*. Microfilm of copy in Sibley Music Library, Eastman School of Music.

Pipelare, Matthaeus. *Opera Omnia*. Ed. by Ronald Cross. Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1966.

Ramos de Pareja, Bartolomeo. *Musica practica (Florence: 1482)*. Facsimile. Bologna: Forni Editore, 1969.

Ramos de Pareja, Bartolomeo. *Musica practica*. Translated by Clement A. Miller. Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1993.

Reisch, George. *Margarita philosophica*. Strassburg: Johann Schott, 1503.

Schlagel, Stephanie P. ed. *Si placet Parts for Motets by Josquin and His Contemporaries*. Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 146. Middleton, WI: A.R. Editions, 2006.

Sébillet, Thomas. *Art Poétique françoys*. Edited by Féliz Gaiffe. Paris: Droz, 1932.

Stevens, John, ed. *Music at the Court of Henry VIII*. Musica Britanica 18. London: Stainer and Bell, 1969.

Tinctoris, Johannes. *Diffinitorum musice*. Edited by Cecilia Panti. Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2005.

Tinctoris, Johannes. "The *Expositio manus* of Johannes Tinctoris." Translated by Albert Seay. *Journal of Music Theory* 9 (1965): 194–232.

Tinctoris, Johannes. *Opera Theoretica*. Edited by Albert Seay. American Institute of Musicology, 1975.

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, San Pietro B 80. Facsimile. Introduction by Christopher A. Reynolds. New York: Garland, 1986.

Verdelot, Philippe. *Opera Omnia*. Edited by Anne-Marie Bragard. American Institute of Musicology, 1966.

Voragine, Jacobus de. *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*. Translated by William Granger Ryan. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Zarlino, Gioseffo. *Istitutioni harmoniche (Venice, 1561)*. Monuments of Music and Music Literature in Facsimile. New York: Broude, 1965.

Zarlino, Gioseffo. *Part Three of 'Le Istitutioni harmoniche,' 1558*. Translated by Guy A. Marco and Claude V. Palisca. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968.

Secondary Literature

Abel, Lionel. *Metatheatre: A New View of Dramatic Form*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1963.

Acres, Alfred. "Luke, Rolin, and Seeing Relationships." In Carol J. Purtle, ed., *Rogier van der Weyden, St Luke Drawing the Virgin: Selected Essays in Context*, 23–37. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997.

Allaire, Gaston. *The Theory of Hexachords, Solmization and the Modal System*. Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1972.

Allsen, Jon Michael. "Style and Intertextuality in the Isorhythmic Motet, 1400–1440." PhD diss.: University of Wisconsin, 1992.

Ambühl, Rèmy. *Prisoners of War in the Hundred Years War: Ransom Culture in the Late Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Anderson, Michael Alan. "Enhancing the *Ave Maria* in the Ars Antiqua." *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 19 (2010): 35–65.

Anderson, Michael Alan. *St. Anne in Renaissance Music: Devotion and Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

André, Clóvis Afonso, de. "Inscribing Medieval Pedagogy: *Musica ficta* in Its Texts." PhD diss.: State University of New York at Buffalo, 2005.

Antonowycz, Myroslaw. "*Illibata dei virgo*: A Melodic Self-Portrait of Josquin des Prez." In Edward E. Lowinsky, ed., with Bonnie J. Blackburn, *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference 1971*, 545–59. London, 1976.

Antonowycz, Myroslaw. "Zur Autorschaftsfrage der Motetten *Absolve, quaesumus, Domine* und *Inter natos mulierum*." *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor nederlandse muziekgeschiedenis* 20 (1966): 154–69.

Apel, Willi. *The Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900–1600*, 5th ed. Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1953. Reprinted 1961.

Apostolos-Cappadona, Diane. "Picturing Devotion: Rogier's *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin*." In Carol J. Purtle, ed., *Rogier van der Weyden, St Luke Drawing the Virgin: Selected Essays in Context*, 5–14. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997.

Atkinson, Charles M. "The Other *Modus*: On the Theory and Practice of Intervals in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." In Peter Jeffery, ed., *The Study of Medieval Chant: Paths and Bridges, East and West*. 233–56. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2003.

Atlas, Alan. "A Note on Isaac's *Quis dabit capiti meo aquam*." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 27 (1974): 103–110.

Atlas, Allan W. *Renaissance Music: Music in Western Europe, 1400–1600*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1998.

Baker, Norma Klein. "An Unnumbered Manuscript of Polyphony in the Archives of the Cathedral of Segovia: Its Provenance and History." PhD diss.: University of Maryland, 1978.

Banker, James R. *Death in the Community: Memorialization and Confraternities in an Italian Commune in the Late Middle Ages*. Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1988.

Banks, Jon. *The Instrumental Consort Repertory of the Late Fifteenth Century*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.

Banks, Jon. "Performing the Instrumental Music in the Segovia Codex." *Early Music* 27 (1999): 294–309.

Barnett, Gregory. "Tonal Organization in Seventeenth-Century Music Theory." In Thomas Christensen, ed., *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, 407–55. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Baxandall, Michael. *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Beck, Jonathan. "Formalism and Virtuosity: Franco-Burgundian Poetry, Music and Visual Art, 1470–1520." *Critical Inquiry* 10 (1984): 644–67.

Becker, Otto Frederick. "The *Maîtrise* in Northern France and Burgundy during the Fifteenth Century." PhD diss.: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1967.

Bell, Catherine M. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Bent, Margaret. "Diatonic *ficta*." *Early Music History* 4 (1984): 1–48.

Bent, Margaret. "The Musical Stanzas in Martin le Franc's *Le champion des dames*." In John Haines and Randall Rosenfeld, eds, *Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Paleography and Performance*, 91–127. Ashgate: Aldershot, 2004.

Bent, Margaret. "*Resfacta* and *cantare super librum*." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36 (1983): 371–91.

Bent, Margaret. "Sounds Perish: In What Senses Does Renaissance Music Survive?" In *The Italian Renaissance in the Twentieth Century: Acts of an International Conference, Florence, Villa I Tatti, June 9–11*, 1999. 247–65.

Bent, Margaret. "The Transmission of English Music 1300–1500: Some Aspects of Repertory and Presentation." In Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht and Max Lütolf, eds, *Studien zur Tradition in der Musik: Kurt von Fischer zum 60. Geburtstag*, 49–83. Munich: Musikverlag Emil Katzbichler, 1973.

Bent, Margaret. "What Is Isorhythm?" In David Butler Cannata, Gabriela Ilnitchi Currie, Rena Charnin Meuller, and John Louis Nádas, eds, *Quomodo cantabimus canticum? Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner*, 121–43. Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2008.

Bent, Margaret. "The Yoxford Credo." In *Essays in Musicology: A Tribute to Alvin Johnson*, 26–51. American Musicological Society, 1990.

Bent, Margaret and David Howlett. "*Subtiliter alternare*: The Yoxford Motet *O amicus / Precursoris*." *Current Musicology* 45/47 (1990): 43–84.

Berger, Karol. "The Guidonian Hand." In Mary Carruthers and Jan Ziolkowsk, eds, *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, 71–82. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

Berger, Karol. "The Hand and the Art of Memory." *Musica Disciplina* 35 (1981): 87–120.

Berger, Christian. *Hexachord, Mensur und Textstruktur: Studien zum französischen Lied des 14. Jarhunderts*. Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1992.

Berger, Karol. *Musica Ficta: Theories of Accidental Inflections in Vocal Polyphony from Marchetto da Padova to Gioseffo Zarlino*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Bernhard, Michael. "Das musikalische Fachschrifttum im lateinischen Mittelalter." In Frieder Zaminer, ed., *Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, vol. 3, 37–103. Darmstadt: Wissenchaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990.

Bernhard, Michael. "Didaktische Verse zur Musiktheorie des Mittelalters." In Lázló Dobszay et al., eds, *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Third Meeting, Tihany,* Hungary, 19–24 September 1988, 227–36. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute for Musicology, 1990.

Bernstein, Lawrence F. "Ockeghem the Mystic: A German Interpretation of the 1920s." In Philippe Vendrix, ed., *Johannes Ockeghem: actes du XLe Colloque international d'études humanistes: Tours, 3–8 février 1997*, 811–41. Paris: Klincksieck, 1998.

Bernstein, Lawrence F. "*Singende Seele* or *unsingbar*? Forkel, Ambros, and the Forces Behind Ockeghem Reception During the Late 18th and 19th Centuries." *Journal of Musicology* 23 (2006): 3–61.

Binski, Paul. *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*. London: British Museum Press, 1996.

Black, Christopher F. and Pamela Gravestock, eds, *Early Modern Confraternities in Europe and the Americas: International and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.

Black, Robert. *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Blackburn, Bonnie. "Canonic Conundrums: The Singer's Petrucci." *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 25 (2001): 53–69.

Blackburn, Bonnie. "The Corruption of One Is the Generation of the Other: Interpreting Canonic Riddles." *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 4 (2012): 182–203.

Blackburn, Bonnie. "For Whom Do the Singers Sing?" *Early Music* 25 (1997): 593–609.

Blackburn, Bonnie. "A Lost Guide to Tinctoris's Teachings Recovered." *Early Music History* 1 (1981): 29–116.

Blackburn, Bonnie. "Music Theory and Musical Thinking after 1450." In Reinhard Strohm and Bonnie J. Blackburn, eds, *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages*, The New Oxford History of Music III/1, 301–45. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Blackburn, Bonnie J. "Did Ockeghem Listen to Tinctoris?" In Philippe Vendrix, ed., *Johannes Ockeghem: actes du XLe Colloque international d'études humanistes: Tours, 3–8 février 1997*, 598–640. Paris: Klincksieck, 1998.

Blackburn, Bonnie J. "The Eloquence of Silence: Tacet Inscriptions in the Alamire Manuscripts." In Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva, eds, *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned*, 206–23. Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music 4. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2005.

Blackburn, Bonnie J. "On Compositional Process in the Fifteenth Century." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987): 210–84.

Blackburn, Bonnie J. "Petrucci's Venetian Editor: Petrus Castellanus and His Musical Garden." *Musica Disciplina* 49 (1995): 15–45.

Blackburn, Bonnie J. "The Virgin in the Sun: Music and Image for a Prayer Attributed to Sixtus IV." *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 124 (1999): 157–95.

Blackburn, Bonnie J. "Masses Based on Popular Songs and Solmization Syllables." In Richard Sherr, ed., *The Josquin Companion*, 51–87. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Blackburn, Bonnie J. and Leofranc Holford-Strevens. "Juno's Four Grievances: The Taste for the Antique in Canonic Inscriptions." In Jürgen Heidrich and Hans Joachim Marz, eds, *Musikalische Quellen – Quellen zur Musikgeschichte: Festschrift für Martin Staehelin zum 65. Geburtstag*, 159–74. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002.

Bloxam, Jennifer. "Text and Context: Obrecht's *Missa de Sancto Donatiano* and Its Social and Ritual Landscape." *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 3 (2011): 11–36.

Bloxam, M. Jennifer. "A Cultural Context for the Chanson Mass." In Honey Meconi, ed., *Early Musical Borrowing*, 7–35. New York and London: Routledge, 2004.

Böker-Heil, Norbert. *Die Motetten von Philippe Verdelot*. Cologne-Sülz: Bothmann, 1967.

Borchert, Till H. "Rogier's St. Luke: The Case for Corporate Identification." In Carol Purtle, ed., *Rogier van der Weyden, St. Luke Drawing the Virgin: Selected Essays in Context*, ed. by, 61–87. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997.

Borchert, Till-Holger. *Van Eyck to Dürer*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2011.

Borgerding, Todd M. "Imagining the Sacred Body: Choirboys, Their Voices, and Corpus Christi in Early Modern Seville." In Susan Boynton and Roe-Min Kok, eds, *Musical Childhoods and the Cultures of Youth*, 25–48. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2006.

Bossuat, André. "Les Prisonniers de Beauvais et la rançon du poète Jean Régnier, bailli d'Auxerre." In Charles-Edmond Perrin, ed., *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen*, 27–32. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1951.

Bossuyt, Ignace. "*O socii durate*: A Musical Correspondence from the Time of Philip II." *Early Music* 26 (1998): 432–44.

Bossuyt, Ignace, ed. *"Cui dono lepidum novum libellum?": Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008.

Bower, Calvin M. "The Transmission of Ancient Music Theory into the Middle Ages." In Thomas Christensen, ed. *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, 136–67. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Bowers, Roger. "Fixed Points in the Chronology of English Fourteenth-Century Polyphony." *Music & Letters* 71 (1990): 313–35.

Bowers, Roger. "Guillaume de Machaut and His Canonry at Reims, 1338–1377." *Early Music History* 23 (2004): 1–48.

Boynton, Susan. "Emblems of Lament in Latin and Vernacular Song." In Dorothea Kullmann, ed., *The Church and Vernacular Literature in Medieval France*, 222–48, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2009.

Boynton, Susan and Isabelle Cochelin. "The Sociomusical Role of Child Oblates at the Abbey of Cluny in the Eleventh Century." In Susan Boynton and Roe-Min Kok, eds, *Musical Childhoods and the Cultures of Youth*, 3–24. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2006.

Boynton, Susan and Eric Rice. "Introduction: Performance and Premodern Childhood." In Susan Boynton and Eric Rice, eds, *Young Choristers: 650–1700*, 1–18. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2008.

Brand, Benjamin. "A Medieval *Scholasticus* and Renaissance Choirmaster: A Portrait of John Hothby at Lucca." *Renaissance Quarterly* 63 (2010): 754–806.

Brand, Benjamin David. "Liturgical Ceremony at the Cathedral of Lucca, 1275–1500." PhD diss.: Yale University, 2006.

Bray, Roger. "Editing and Performing *Musica speculativa*." In John Morehen, ed., *English Choral Practice, 1400–1650*, 48–73. Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Bray, Roger. "Music and the Quadrivium in Early Tudor England." *Music & Letters* 76 (1995): 1–18.

Brenet, Michel. "Les Tombeaux en musique." *Revue d'histoire et de critique musicales* 3 (1903): 568–75, 631–38.

Brine, Douglas. "Image, Text and Prayer: The Indulgenced Memorial Table of Jean de Libourc (d. 1470), Canon of Saint-Omer." *Church Monuments* 23 (2008): 45–61 and 163–65.

Brine, Douglas. *Pious Memories: The Wall-Mounted Memorial in the Burgundian Netherlands*. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Brine, Douglas. "Rogier van der Weyden and the Art of Commemoration." In Lorne Campbell, Jan Van der Stock, Catherine Reynolds, and Lieve Watteeuw, eds, *Rogier van der Weyden in Context: Papers Presented at the Seventeenth Symposium for the Study of Underdrawing and Technology in Painting held in Leuven, 22–24 October 2009*. Paris: Peeters, 2012.

Brothers, Lester D. "Avery Burton and His Hexachord Mass." *Musica Disciplina* 28 (1974): 153–76.

Brothers, Lester D. "New Light on an Early Tudor Mass: Avery Burton's *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*." *Musica Disciplina* 32 (1978): 111–26.

Brothers, Lester Dwayne. "The Hexachord Mass: 1600–1720." PhD diss.: University of California, Los Angeles, 1973.

Brothers, Thomas. *Chromatic Beauty in the Late Medieval Chanson: An Interpretation of Manuscript Accidentals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Brothers, Thomas. "*Contenance angloise* and Accidentals in Some Motets by Du Fay." *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 6 (1997): 21–51.

Brothers, Thomas. "Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition in Mass and Motet, ca. 1450–1475." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44 (1991): 1–56.

Brown, Andrew. "Bruges and the Burgundian 'Theatre-State': Charles the Bold and Our Lady of the Snow." *History* 84 (1999): 573–89.

Brown. Andrew. *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges c. 1300–1520*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Brown, Howard Mayer. "Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (1982): 1–48.

Brown, Howard Mayer. "Guillaume Dufay and the Early Renaissance." *Early Music* 2 (1974): 219–34.

Brown, Howard Mayer. "The Mirror of Man's Salvation: Music in Devotional Life about 1500." *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990): 744–74.

Brown, Howard Mayer. "Music and Ritual at Charles the Bold's Court: The Function of Liturgical Music by Busnoys and His Contemporaries." In Paula Higgins, ed., *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, 53–70. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.

Brown, Howard Mayer. "On Gentile Bellini's *Processione in San Marco* (1496)." In Daniel Heartz and Bonnie Wade, eds, *International Musicological Society: Report of the Twelfth Congress: Berkeley 1977*, 649–58. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1981.

Brown, Howard Mayer. "On Veronica and Josquin." In Josephine Wright and Samuel A. Floyd, eds, *New Perspectives on Music: Essays in Honor of Eileen Southern*, 49–61. Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1992.

Brownlee, Kevin. "The Poetic *Oeuvre* of Guillaume de Machaut: The Identity of Discourse and the Discourse of Identity." In Madeleine Pelner Cosman and Bruce Chandler, eds, *Machaut's World: Science and Art in the Fourteenth Century*, 219–33. New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, 1978.

Brownlee, Kevin. *Poetic Identity in Guillaume de Machaut*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984.

Brumble, H. David. *Classical Myths and Legends in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: A Dictionary of Allegorical Meanings*. London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1998.

Bujic, Bojan. "Josquin, Leonardo, and the *Scala Peccatorum*." *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 4 (1973): 145–63.

Buning-Jurgens, J. E. "More about Jacob Obrecht's *Parce Domine*." *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor nederlandse muziekgeschiedenis* 21 (1970): 167–69.

Burn, David J. "*Nam erit haec quoque laus eorum*: Imitation, Competition and the *L'homme armé* Tradition." *Revue de Musicology* 87 (2001): 249–87.

Burstyn, Shai. "The Modescape of Medieval Europe: Towards a More Realistic View." In Ursula Günther, Ludwig Finscher, and Jeffrey Dean, eds, *Modality in the Music of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, 1–10. Musicological Studies & Documents, 49. American Institute of Musicology, 1996.

Busse Berger, Anna Maria. "Compositional Practices in Trecento Music: Model Books and Musical Traditions." In Melania Bucciarelli and Berta Joncus, eds, *Music as Social and Cultural Practice: Essays in Honour of Reinhard Strohm*, 24–37. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2007.

Busse Berger, Anna Maria. *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

Busse Berger, Anna Maria. *Mensuration and Proportion Signs: Origins and Evolution*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

Butler, Katherine. "Death Songs and Elegies: Singing about Death in Elizabethan England." *Early Music* 43 (2015): 269–80.

Callahan, Virginia Woods. "*Ut Phoebi radiis*: The Riddle of the Text Resolved." In E. E. Lowinsky, ed., with Bonnie J. Blackburn, *Josquin des Prez. Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference New York 1971*, 560–63. London: 1976.

Calella, Michele and Lothar Schmidt. *Komponieren in der Renaissance: Lehre und Praxis*. Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2013.

Callewier, Hendrik. "'What You Do on the Sly . . . Will Be Deemed Forgiven in the Sight of the Most High': Gilles Joye and the Changing Status of Singers in Fifteenth-Century Bruges." *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 1 (2009): 89–109.

Canguilhem, Philippe. "Main mémorielle et invention musicale à la Renaissance." In Anna Maria Busse Berger and Massimiliano Rossi, eds, *Memory and Invention: Medieval and Renaissance Literature, Art and Music*, 81–98. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2009.

Canguilhem, Philippe. "Singing upon the Book According to Vincente Lusitano." *Early Music History* 30 (2011): 55–103.

Carpenter, Nan Cooke. *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1972.

Cerquiglini-Toulet, Jacqueline. "*Fama* et les Preux: Nom et renom à la fin du Moyen Âge." *Médiévales* 24 (1993): 35–44.

Cavallo, Guglielmo and Roger Chartier, eds, *A History of Reading in the West*. Translated by Lydia Cochrane. Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1999.

Chafe, Eric. Monteverdi's Tonal Language. New York: Schirmer, 1992.

Chartier, Roger, ed. *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*. Translated by Lydia Cochrane. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.

Cheng, William. "*Opera en abyme:* The Prodigious Ritual of Korngold's *Die tote Stadt*." *Cambridge Opera Journal* 22 (2011): 115–46.

Christoffersen, Peter Woetmann. "*Prenez sur moi vostre exemple*: The 'clefless' notation or the use of *fa*-clefs in chansons of the fifteenth century by Binchois,

Barbingant, Ockeghem and Josquin." *Danish Yearbook of Musicology* 37 (2009): 13–38.

Clutterham, Leslie. "Dating Josquin's Enigmatic Motet *Illibata Dei virgo nutrix*." *The Choral Journal* 38 (1997): 9–14.

Coeurdevey, Annie. "Josquin des Prés, *Nymphes des bois*, Déploration sur la Mort de Johannes Ockeghem: de l'Étude des sources à l'analyse." *Musurgia* 7 (2000): 49–81.

Coeurdevey, Annie. "La célébration du vin dans la chanson polyphonique à la Renaissance." In François Lesure, ed., *"La musique de tous les passetemps le plus beau . . . "*: *Hommage à Jean-Michel Vaccaro*, 67–88. Paris: Klincksieck, 1998.

Cohen, David. "Notes, Scales, and Modes in the Earlier Middle Ages." In Thomas Christensen, ed., *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, 307–63. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Colk Santosuosso, Alma. *Letter Notations in the Middle Ages*. Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1989.

Courtenay, William. "Antiqui and Moderni in Late Medieval Thought." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 48 (1987): 3–10.

Crocker, Richard L. "Hermann's Major Sixth." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 25 (1972): 19–37.

Cumming, Julie. "Concord out of Discord: Occasional Motets of the Early Quattrocento." PhD diss.: University of California, Berkeley, 1987.

Cumming, Julie. *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Cumming, Julie. "Music for the Doge in Early Renaissance Venice." *Speculum* 67 (1992): 324–64.

Cumming, Julie. "Petrucci's Publics for the First Motet Prints." In Bronwen Wilson and Paul Yachnin, eds, *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe: People, Things, Forms of Knowledge*, 96–122. New York: Routledge, 2010.

Cumming, Julie E. "Composing Imitative Counterpoint around a Cantus Firmus: Two Motets by Heinrich Isaac." *Journal of Musicology* 28 (2011): 231–88.

Cumming, Julie E. "The Goddess Fortuna Revisited." *Current Musicology* 30 (1980): 7–23.

Cumming, Julie, and Peter Schubert. "The Origins of Pervasive Imitation." In Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin, eds, *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*, 200–28. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Curtis, Liane. "Music Manuscripts and Their Production in Fifteenth-Century Cambrai." PhD diss.: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1991.

Curtis, Liane. "Simon Mellet, Scribe of Cambrai Cathedral." *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 8 (1999): 133–66.

Cuyler, Louise Elvira. *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music*. London: Oxford University Press, 1973.

D'Accone, Frank. *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

D'Accone, Frank A. "The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 15th Century." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 14 (1961): 307–58.

de Looze, Laurence. "*Mon no trouveras*: A New Look at the Anagrams of Guillaume de Machaut – the Enigmas, Responses, and Solutions." *Romanic Review* 79 (1988): 537–557.

Dean, Jeffrey. "The Evolution of a Canon at the Papal Chapel: The Importance of Old Music in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries." In Richard Sherr, ed., *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, 138–66. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

Dean, Jeffrey. "Ockeghem's Attitude towards Modality." In Ursula Günther, Ludwig Finscher, and Jeffrey Dean, eds, *Modality in the Music of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, 203–46. Musicological Studies & Documents, 49. American Institute of Musicology, 1996.

Dean, Jeffrey. "Ockeghem's Valediction?: The Meaning of *Intemerata Dei mater*." In Philippe Vendrix, ed., *Johannes Ockeghem: actes du XLe Colloque international d'études humanistes: Tours, 3–8 février 1997*, 521–70. Paris: Klincksieck, 1998.

DeFord, Ruth. "Sebald Heyden (1499–1561): The First Historical Musicologist?" In Zdravko Blažeković and Barbara Dobbs Mackenzie, eds, *Music's Intellectual History*, 3–15. New York: Répertoire International de la Littérature Musicale, 2009.

DeFord, Ruth, I. *Tactus, Mensuration and Rhythm in Renaissance Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

DeFord, Ruth. "Who Devised the Proportional Notation in Isaac's *Choralis Constantinus*?" In David Burn and Stefan Gasch, eds, *Heinrich Isaac and Polyphony for the Proper of the Mass in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, 167–214. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011.

Dronke, Peter. *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages: New Departures in Poetry, 1000–1150*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.

Duckles, Vincent. "The English Musical Elegy of the Late Renaissance." In Jan LaRue, ed., *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, 134–53. New York: Pendragon Press, 1978.

Duffin, Ross. "Mi chiamo Mimi . . . but my Name is Quarti toni: Solmization and Ockeghem's Famous Mass." *Early Music* 29 (2001): 164–85.

Dumitrescu, Theodor. "The Solmization Status of Sharps in the 15th and 16th Centuries." *Studi musicali* 33 (2004): 253–83.

Dumitrescu, Theodor. "Who Was Prioris? A Royal Composer Recovered." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 65 (2012): 5–65.

Dumont, Sandrine. "Choirboys and *Vicaires* in the Maîtrise of Cambrai: A Socio-anthropological Study (1550–1670)." In Susan Boynton and Eric Rice, eds, *Young Choristers: 650–1700*, 146–62. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2008.

Dunbar, Agnes B. C. *A Dictionary of Saintly Women*. 2 vols. London, 1904–05.

Dunning, Albert. *Die Staatsmotette 1480–1555*. Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1970.

Dunning, Albert. "Een 'Tombeau musical' voor Erasmus." *Mens en melodie* 24 (1969): 368–70.

Dunning, Albert. "*Josquini antiquos, Musae, memoremus amores:* A Mantuan Motet from 1554 in Homage to Josquin." *Acta Musicologica* 41 (1969): 108–16.

Dyer, John. "Speculative *Musica* and the Medieval University or Paris." *Music & Letters* 90 (2009): 177–204.

Eckert, Michael. "Canon and Variation in Ockeghem's *Missa Prolationum*." In Philippe Vendrix, ed., *Johannes Ockeghem: actes du XLe Colloque international d'études humanistes: Tours, 3–8 février 1997*, 465–79. Paris: Klincksieck, 1998.

Eisenbichler, Konrad, ed. *Crossing the Boundaries: Christian Piety and the Arts in Italian Medieval and Renaissance Confraternities*. Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series, No. 15. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1991.

Elders, Willem. "Death and Immortality in the Music of the Low Countries." *Festival Oude Muziek Utrecht: Programma* (1986): 11–20.

Elders, Willem. "Josquin's *Absolve, quaesumus, Domine*: A Tribute to Obrecht?" *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor nederlandse muziekgeschiedenis* 37 (1987): 14–24.

Elders, Willem. "Music and Number in Token of the Holy Virgin." In *Symbolic Scores: Studies in the Music of the Renaissance*, 151–84. Leiden: E. J. Brill: 1994.

Elders, Willem. "Sign and Symbol in Music for the Dead." In *Symbolic Scores: Studies in the Music of the Renaissance*, 121–49. Leiden: E. J. Brill: 1994.

Elders, Willem. "The *soggetto ostinato* as a Contextual Sign in Mass and Motet." In *Symbolic Scores: Studies in the Music of the Renaissance*, 61–89. Leiden: E. J. Brill: 1994.

Elders, Willem. "Symbolism in the Sacred Music of Josquin." In Richard Sherr, ed., *The Josquin Companion*, 531–68. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Elders, Willem and André d'Olégargues. "New Light on the Dating of Josquin's *Hercules Mass*." *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 48 (1998): 112–49.

Ellington, Donna Spivey. *From Sacred Body to Angelic Mind: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2001.

Fallows, David. *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415–1480*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Fallows, David. "The *contenance angloise*: English Influence on Continental Composers of the Fifteenth Century." *Renaissance Studies* 1 (1987): 189–208.

Fallows, David. *Dufay*. London: J. M. Dent, 1982.

Fallows, David. *Josquin*. Brepols: Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, 2009.

Fallows, David. "Josquin and Milan." *Plainsong & Medieval Music* 5 (1996): 69–80.

Fallows, David. "Josquin and Trent 91: Thoughts on *Omnium bonorum plena* and his Activities in the 1470s." In Marco Grozzi, ed., *Manoscritti di polifonia nel*

Quattrocento Euroeo: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Trento – Castello del Buonconsiglio, 18–19 ottobre 2002, 205–11. Trent: Provincia Autonoma di Trento, 2004.

Fallows, David. "Moulu's Composer Motet: Date and Context." In Thomas Schmidt-Beste, ed., *The Motet around 1500: On the Relationship of Imitation and Text Treatment?*, 325–33. Turnhout: Brepols, 2012.

Fallows, David. "*Prenez sur moy*: Okeghem's Tonal Pun." *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 1 (1992): 63–75.

Fallows, David. "Robertus de Anglia and the Oporto Song Collection." In Ian Bent, ed., *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart*, 99–128. London: Stainer & Bell, 1981.

Fallows, David. "Specific Information on the Ensembles for Composed Polyphony, 1400–1474." In Stanley Boorman, ed., *Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music*, 109–59. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Fallows, David. "Two More Dufay Songs Reconstructed." *Early Music* 3 (1975): 358–60.

Fear, David. "'La La Land': How a Young Filmmaker Resurrected the Hollywood Musical," *Rolling Stone* (Dec. 9, 2016).

Fenlon, Iain. "Courtly Rituals: Princely Obsequies in Florence and Venice." In Stefan Gasch and Birgit Lodes, eds, *Tod in Musik und Kultur: Zum 500. Todestag Philippes des Schönen*, 343–57. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2007.

Ferand, Ernest T. "What Is *Res Facta?*" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 10 (1957): 141–50.

Ferguson, John. "The Margarita philosophica of Gregorius Reisch: A Bibliography." *The Library* (1929): 194–216.

Forrest Kelly, Thomas. *Capturing Music: The Story of Notation*. New York: Norton, 2015.

Feuer, Jane. "The Self-Reflexive Musical and the Myth of Entertainment." In Barry Keith Grant, ed., *Film Genre Reader II*, 441–55. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995.

Filocamo, Gioia. "Democratizing the Requiem: Mercantile Mentality and the Fear of Death in Italy." *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 1 (2009): 27–49.

Fitch, Fabrice. "Restoring Ockeghem's *Mort tu as navré*." *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 51 (2001): 3–24.

Fiumara, Anthony. "Escobedo's *Missa Philippus Rex Hispanie*: A Spanish Descendant of Josquin's *Hercules Mass*." *Early Music* 28 (2000): 50–62.

Forney, Kristine K. "Music, Ritual and Patronage at the Church of Our Lady, Antwerp." *Early Music History* 7 (1987): 1–57.

Freeman, Daniel E. "On the Origins of the *Pater noster-Ave Maria* of Josquin Des Prez." *Musica Disciplina* 45 (1991), 169–220.

Friebel, Michael. "*Missa Prolationum*: Auf der Suche nach einer Originalnotation." In Philippe Vendrix, ed., *Johannes Ockeghem: actes du XLe Colloque*

international d'études humanistes: Tours, 3–8 février 1997, 433–64. Paris: Klincksieck, 1998.

Friedländer, Max J. *Die altniederländische Malerei*. Vol. 2. Berlin: Cassirer, 1924.

Fuhrmann, Wolfgang. "A Humble Beginning? Three Ways to Understand Brumel's *Missa Ut re mi fa sol la*." *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 7 (2015): 22–49.

Fuhrmann, Wolfgang. "Pierre de la Rues Trauermotetten und die *Quis dabit*-Tradition." In Stefan Gasch and Birgit Lodes, eds, *Tod in Musik und Kultur: Zum 500. Todestag Philippes des Schönen*, 189–244. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2007.

Fuller, Sarah. "Organum – *discantus* – *contrapuntus* in the Middle Ages." In Thomas Christensen, eds, *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, 477–50. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Gallagher, Sean. "Musical Quotation or Compositional Habit? The Case of Guillaume Du Fay's *En triumphant de Cruel Dueil*." In Machtelt Israëls and Louis A. Waldman, eds, *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors*, vol. 2, 635–41. Florence: Villa I Tatti and the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, 2013.

Gallagher, Sean. "*Pater optime*: Vergilian Allusion in Obrecht's *Mille quingentis*." *Journal of Musicology* 18 (2001): 406–57.

Gasch, Stefan and Birgit Lodes, eds, *Tod in Musik und Kultur: Zum 500. Todestag Philippes des Schönen*. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2007.

Geary, Robert Aiken. "An Introduction to the Renaissance Déploration." California State University, Fullerton: MA thesis, 1980.

Gilbert, Adam. "Ludwig Senfl's *Sancte pater divumque* and His Musical Patrimony." In Thomas Schmidt-Beste, ed., *The Motet around 1500: On the Relationship of Imitation and Text Treatment?*, 429–43. Turnhout: Brepols, 2012.

Gilbert, Adam Knight. "Heinrich Isaac, Ludwig Senfl, and a Fugal Hexachord." In Katelijne Schiltz and Bonnie J. Blackburn, eds, *Canons and Canonic Techniques, 14th–16th Centuries: Theory, Practice, and Reception History,* 111–23. Leuven: Peeters, 2007.

Glixon, Jonathan. *Honoring God and the City: Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260–1807*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Gómez, Maricarmen and Barbara Haggh. "Minstrel Schools in the Late Middle Ages." *Early Music* 18 (1990): 212–16.

Gosman, Alan. "Stacked Canon and Renaissance Compositional Procedure." *Journal of Music Theory* 41 (1997): 289–317.

Gossen, Nicoletta. *Musik in Texten, Texte in Musik: Der poetische Text als Herausforderung and die Interpreten der Musik des Mittelalters*. Winterthur: Amadeus, 2006.

Grafton, Anthony. "The Humanist as Reader." In Guglielmo Cavallo, Roger Chartier, eds, Lydia Cochrane, trans., *A History of Reading in the West*, 179–212. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts, 1999.

Grafton, Anthony and Lisa Jardine. *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe*. London, 1986.

Grendler, Paul F. "The Universities of the Renaissance and Reformation." *Renaissance Quarterly* 57 (2004): 1–42.

Gümpel, Karl-Werner. "A Didactic Musical Treatise from the Late Middle Ages: Ebstorf, Klosterarchiv, MS V,3." In Susan Parisi, ed., *Music in the Theater, Church, and Villa: Essays in Honor of Robert Lamar Weaver and Norma Wright Weaver*, 50–64. Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2000.

Günther, Ursula, Ludwig Finscher, and Jeffrey Dean, eds, *Modality in the Music of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.* Musicological Studies & Documents, 49. American Institute of Musicology, 1996.

Haar, James. "The Frontispiece of Gafori's *Practica musicae* (1496)." In *The Science and Art of Renaissance Music*, 79–92. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Haar, James. "Lasso as Historicist: The Cantus-Firmus Motets." In Dolores Pesce, ed., *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, 165–85. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Haar, James. "Lessons in Theory from a Sixteenth-Century Composer." In Paul Corneilson, ed., *The Science and Art of Renaissance Music*, 149–75. Princeton: 1998

Haar, James. "Music as Visual Object: The Importance of Notational Appearance." In Renato Borghi and Pietro Zappalà, eds, *L'edizione critica tra testo musicale e testo letterario. Atti del convegno internazionale (Cremona 4–8 ottobre 1992)* (=Studi e testi musicali. Nuova serie 3), ed. by, 97–128. Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1995.

Haar, James. "On Musical Games in the Sixteenth Century." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 15 (1962): 22–34.

Haar, James. "Palestrina as Historicist: The Two *L'homme armé* Masses." *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 121 (1996): 191–205.

Haar, James. "Some Remarks on the *Missa La sol fa re mi*." In Edward E. Lowinsky and Bonnie J. Blackburn, eds, *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference . . . 1971*, 564–88. London: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Haggh, Barbara. "The Archives of the Order of the Golden Fleece and Music." *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 129 (1995): 1–43.

Haggh, Barbara. "Du Fay and Josquin at the Collegiate Church of St. Gudila." *Revue belge de Musicologie* 55 (2001): 41–52.

Haggh, Barbara. "Foundations or Institutions? On Bringing the Middle Ages into the History of Medieval Music." *Acta Musicologica* 68 (1996): 87–128.

Haggh, Barbara. "Guillaume Du Fay and the Evolution of the Liturgy at Cambrai Cathedral in the Fifteenth Century." In L. Dobszay, ed., *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary. 3–8 September 1990.* International

Musicological Society. Chant Study Group, 549–69. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute for Musicology, 1992.

Haggh, Barbara. "Guillaume Du Fay's Birthplace: Some Notes on a Hypothesis." *Revue belge de Musicologie* 51 (1997): 17–21.

Haggh, Barbara. "Josquin's Portrait: New Evidence." In Albert Clement and Eric Jas, eds, *From Ciconia to Sweelinck: Donum natalicium Willem Elders*, 91–110. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994.

Haggh, Barbara. "The Meeting of Sacred Ritual and Secular Piety: Endowments for Music." In Tess Knighton and David Fallows, eds, *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, 60–8. London: Dent, 1992.

Haggh, Barbara. "Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony in Brussels, 1350–1500." PhD diss.: University of Illinois at Urbana, 1988.

Haggh, Barbara. "Music and Ritual from the Time of Ockeghem: Evidence from Paris and Tours." In Philippe Vendrix, ed., *Johannes Ockeghem: actes du XLe Colloque international d'études humanistes: Tours, 3–8 février 1997*, 405–14. Paris: Klincksieck, 1998.

Haggh, Barbara. "Nonconformity in the Use of Cambrai Cathedral: Guillaume Du Fay's Foundations." In Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca Balzer, eds, *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography, Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner*, 373–91. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Haggh, Barbara. "The *Officium* of the *Recollectio festorum beata Marie virginis* by Gilles Carlier and Guillaume Du Fay: Its Celebration and Reform in Leuven." In Mark Delaere and Pieter Bergé, eds, "*Recevez Ce Mien Petite Labeur": Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Ignace Bossuyt*, 93–106. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008.

Haggh, Barbara. "Singing for the Most Noble Souls: Funerals and Memorials for the Burgundian and Hapsburg Dynasties in Dijon and Brussels as Models for the Funeral of Philip the Fair in 1507." In Stefan Gasch and Birgit Lodes, eds, *Tod in Musik und Kultur: Zum 500. Todestag Philippes des Schönen*, 57–85. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2007.

Hamm, Charles. "The Manuscript San Pietro B80." *Revue belge de Musicologie* 14 (1960): 40–55.

Harbison, Craig. *The Mirror of the Artist: Northern Renaissance Art in Its Historical Context*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995.

Harrison, Frank Ll. *Music in Medieval Britain*. London: Routledge, 1963.

Hatter, Jane Daphne. "*Col tempo*: Musical Time, Aging and Sexuality in 16th-Century Venetian Paintings." *Early Music* 39 (2011): 3–14.

Hatter, Jane Daphne. "Converting the Virgin: Converting the Soundscape of Women's Rituals across the Confessional Divide, 1500–1570." In Simon Ditchfield and Helen Smith, eds, *Conversions: Gender and Religious Change in Early Modern Europe.* Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2017.

Hatter, Jane Daphne. "Reflecting on the Rosary: Marian Devotions in Early Sixteenth-Century Motets." In Thomas Schmidt-Beste, ed., *The Motet around 1500: On the Relationship of Imitation and Text Treatment?*, 509–31. Turnhout: Brepols, 2012.

Helms, Dietrich. "Henry VIII's Book: Teaching Music to Royal Children." *The Musical Quarterly* 92 (2009): 118–35.

Henderson, Robert Vladimir. "Solmization Syllables in Music Theory, 1100–1600." PhD diss.: Columbia University, 1969.

Hewitt, Helen. "A Study in Proportions." In Randall Thompson, ed., *Essays on Music in Honor of Archibald Thompson Davison*, 69–81. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1957.

Hewitt, Helen. "The Two Puzzle Canons in Busnois's *Maintes femmes*." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 10 (1957): 104–10.

Heyink, Rainer. "Zur Wiederentdeckung der Motu proprio-Erlasse Papst Leos X. an Jean Mouton und weitere Mitglieder der französischen Hofkapelle." *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 76 (1992), 45–58.

Higgins, Paula. "Antoine Busnois and Musical Culture in Late Fifteenth-Century France and Burgundy." PhD diss.: Princeton University, 1987.

Higgins, Paula. "The Apotheosis of Josquin des Prez and Other Mythologies of Musical Genius." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 57 (2005): 443–510.

Higgins, Paula. "Celebrating Transgression and Excess: Antoine Busnoys and the Boundaries of Late Medieval Musical Culture." In Paula Higgins, ed., *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, 1–20. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.

Higgins, Paula. "*In hydraulis* Revisited: New Light on the Career of Antoine Busnois." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39 (1986): 36–86.

Higgins, Paula. "Lamenting 'Our Master and Good Father': Intertextuality and Creative Patrilineage in Musical Tributes by and for Johannes Ockeghem." In Stefan Gasch and Birgit Lodes, eds, *Tod in Musik und Kultur: Zum 500. Todestag Philippes des Schönen*, 276–314. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2007.

Higgins, Paula. "Musical 'Parents' and Their 'Progeny': The Discourse of Creative Patriarchy in Early Modern Europe." In Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings, eds, *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, 169–86. Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997.

Higgins, Paula. "Musical Politics in Late Medieval Poitiers: A Tale of Two Choirmasters." In Paula Higgins, ed., *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, 155–74. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.

Hiley, David. *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

Hirshberg, Jehoash. "Criticism of Music and Music as Criticism in the Chantilly Codex." In Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone, eds, *A Late Medieval Songbook*

and Its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliotheque du Chateau de Chantilly, Ms. 564), 133–59. Turnhout: Brepols, 2009.

Hirshberg, Jehoash. "Hexachordal and Modal Structure in Machaut's Polyphonic Chansons." In John Walter Hill, ed., *Studies in Musicology in Honor of Otto E. Albrecht*, 19–42. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1980.

Hoffman, Edward Joseph. *Alain Chartier: His Works and Reputation*. New York: Wittes Press, 1942.

Holford-Strevens, Leofranc. "Du Fay the Poet? Problems in the Texts of His Motets." *Early Music History* 16 (1997): 97–165.

Holford-Strevens, Leofranc. "Humanism and the Language of Music Treatises." *Renaissance Studies* 15 (2001): 415–49.

Holford-Strevens, Leofranc. "The *Laudes musicae* in Renaissance Music Treatises." In Fabrice Fitch and Jacobijn Kiel, eds, *Essays on Renaissance Music in Honour of David Fallows: Bon jour, bon mois, et bonne estrenne*, 338–48. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011.

Hornik, Heidi J. and Mikeal C. Parsons. *Illuminating Luke: The Infancy Narrative in Italian Renaissance Painting*. Vol. 1. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2003.

Houdoy, Jules. *Histoire artistique de la Cathédrale de Cambrai*. Geneva: Minkoff Reprints, 1880.

Houghton, Edward F. "A Close Reading of Compere's Motet *Sile fragor*." In Barbara Haggh, ed., *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman*, 89–103. Paris: Minerve, 2001.

Howlett, David. "*Apollinis eclipsatur*: Foundation of the 'Collegium musicorum.'" In Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva, eds, *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned*, 152–59. Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music 4. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2005.

Howlett, David. "Busnois' Motet *In hydraulis*: An Exercise in Textual Reconstruction of Analysis." *Plainsong & Medieval Music* 4 (1995): 185–191.

Hudson, Bart. "Obrecht's Tribute to Ockeghem." *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor nederlandse muziekgeschiedenis* 37 (1987): 3–13.

Huglo, Michel. "Une Élégie sur la mort de Guillaume de Conquérant." *Revue de Musicologie* 50 (1964): 225–28.

Humfrey, Peter. "Competitive Devotions: The Venetian *Scuole Piccole* as Donors of Altarpieces in the Years around 1500." *The Art Bulletin* 70 (1988): 401–23.

Humfrey, Peter and Richard MacKenney. "The Venetian Trade Guilds as Patrons of Art in the Renaissance." *The Burlington Magazine* 128 (1986): 317–330.

Huot, Sylvia. *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.

Immel, Steven C. "The Vatican Organum Treatise Re-Examined." *Early Music History* 20 (2001): 121–72.

Ishikawa, Chiyo. "Rogier van der Weyden's 'Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin' Reexamined." *Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 2 (1990): 49–84.

Jackson, Philip T. "Two Descendants of Josquin's 'Hercules' Mass." *Music & Letters* 59 (1978): 188–205.

Jacobs, Lynn F. *Opening Doors: The Early Netherlandish Triptych Reinterpreted*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012.

Jardine, Lisa and Anthony Grafton. "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy." *Past & Present* 129 (1990), 30–78.

Jas, Eric. "Nicolas Gombert's *Missa Fors seulement*: A Conflicting Attribution." *Revue belge de Musicologie* 46 (1992): 163–77.

Johnson, Alvin. "A Musical Offering to Hercules II, Duke of Ferrara." In Jan LaRue, ed., *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, 448–54. New York: Pendragon Press, 1978.

Josephson, Nors. "Agnus Dei I from Robert de Févin, *Missa La sol mi fa re*." *Musica Disciplina* 28 (1974): 77–80.

Judd, Cristle Collins. "Modal Types and 'Ut, Re, Mi' Tonalities: Tonal Coherence in Sacred Vocal Polyphony from about 1500." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45 (1992): 428–67.

Judd, Cristle Collins. *Reading Renaissance Music Theory: Hearing with the Eyes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Jugie, Sophie. *The Mourners: Tomb Sculptures from the Court of Burgundy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010.

Just, Martin. "Josquin des Prez: Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales." In Siegmund Helms and Reinhard Schneider, eds, *Grosse Chorwerke: Werkanalyse in Beispiele*, 11–34. Kassel: Gustav Bosse, 1994.

Kann, Andrea. "Rogier's *St*. Luke: Portrait of the Artist of Portrait of the Historian?" In Carol J. Purtle, ed., *Rogier van der Weyden, St Luke Drawing the Virgin: Selected Essays in Context*, 15–22. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997.

Kellman, Herbert. "Josquin and the Courts of the Netherlands and France: The Evidence of the Sources." In Edward E. Lowinsky, ed., with Bonnie J. Blackburn, *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference 1971*, 181–216. London, 1976.

Kemp, Walter H. "'Dueil Angoisseus' and 'Dulongesux'." *Early Music* 7 (1979): 520–21.

Kempers, Bram. *Painting, Power, and Patronage: The Rise of the Professional Artist in Renaissance Italy*. Translated by Beverley Jackson. London: Penguin, 1994.

Kiem, Eckehard. "*Musico antico et celebrato*: Versuch über Jacobus Vaet." *Musik & Ästhetik* 38 (2006): 67–89.

Killam, Rosemary. "Solmization with the Guidonian Hand: A Historical Introduction to Modal Counterpoint." *Journal of Music Theory Pedagogy* 2 (1988): 251–73.

Kimmel, William. "The Phrygian Inflection and the Appearances of Death in Music." *College Music Symposium* 20 (1980): 42–76.

Kirkman, Andrew. "Binchois the Borrower." In Andrew Kirkman and Dennis Slavin, eds, *Binchois Studies*, 119–136. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Kirkman, Andrew. *The Cultural Life of the Early Polyphonic Mass*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Kirkman, Andrew and Dennis Slavin, eds, *Binchois Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Knighton, Tess. "'Music, why do you weep?' A Lament for Alexander Agricola (d. 1506)." *Early Music* 34 (2006): 427–41.

Koerner, Joseph Leo. *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Kok, Jan Piet Filedt. *De heilige Lucas tekent en schildert de Madonna*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006.

Kreyszig, Walter Kurt. "The Significance of Iconography in the Print Culture of the Late-Fifteenth-Century Music Theoretical Discourse: The *Theoricum opus musice discipline* (1480) and *Theorica musice* (1492) of Franchino Gaffurio in the Context of His Trilogy." *Music in Art*, 35 (2010): 53–70.

Lassahn, Nicole. "Signatures from the *Roman de la rose* to Guillaume de Machaut: The Beginnings of the Dream-Poem Genre in France." *Romance Languages Annual* 10 (1999): 75–81.

Leach, Elizabeth Eva. "Dead Famous: Mourning, Machaut, Music, and Renown in the Chantilly Codex." In Yolanda Plumley and Anne Stone, eds, *A Late Medieval Songbook and Its Context: New Perspectives on the Chantilly Codex (Bibliotheque du Chateau de Chantilly, Ms. 564)*, 63–94. Turnhout: Brepols, 2009.

Leach, Elizabeth Eva. "Grammar and Music in the Medieval Song-School." *New Medieval Literatures* 9 (2009): 195–211.

Leach, Elizabeth Eva. *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2011.

Lee-De Amici, Beth Anne. "*Et le moyen plain de paine et tristess*: Solution, Symbology, and Context in Ockeghem's *Prenez sur moi*." *The Journal of Musicology* 28 (2011): 369–417.

Le Goff, Jacques. *The Birth of Purgatory*. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.

Leverett, Adelyn Peck. "A Paleographical and Repertorial Study of the Manuscript Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, 91 (1378)." Princeton University: PhD diss., 1990.

Lindmayr-Brandl, Andrea. "Ockeghem's Motets: Style as an Indicator of Authorship: The Case of *Ut heremitas solus* reconsidered." In Philippe Vendrix, ed., *Johannes Ockeghem: actes du XLe Colloque international d'études humanistes: Tours, 3–8 février 1997*, 499–520. Paris: Klincksieck, 1998.

Lockwood, Lewis. *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400–1505: The Creation of a Musical Center in the Fifteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Long, Michael. "Singing through the Looking Glass: Child's Play and Learning in Medieval Italy." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 61 (2008): 253–306.

Love, Harold. "How Music Created a Public." *Criticism* 46 (2004): 257–71.

Lowinsky, Edward E. "The Goddess Fortuna in Music: With a Special study of Josquin's *Fortuna dun gran tempo*." *The Musical Quarterly* 75 (Anniversary Issue, 1991): 81–107.

Luko, Alexis. "Tinctoris on *varietas*." *Early Music History* 27 (2008): 99–136.

Lütteken, Laurenz. "Die *maîtrise* im 15. Jahrhundert. Zum institutionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund der Vorrangstellung franko-flämischer Musiker." In Christian Kaden and Volker Kalisch, eds, *Professionalismus in der Musik: Arbeitstagung in Verbindung mit dem Heinrich-Schütz-Haus Bad Köstritz vom 22. bis 25.* August 1996, 132–44. Essen: Die Blaue Eule, 1999.

Lütteken, Laurenz. *Guillaume Dufay und die isorhythmische Motette. Gattungstradition und Werkcharacter an der Schwelle zur Newzeit*. Hamburg: K. D. Wagner, 1993.

Lütteken, Laurenz. "The Work Concept." Translated by James Streichen. In Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin, eds, *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*, 55–68. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

MacClintock, Carol. "Molinet, Music, and Medieval Rhetoric." *Musica Disciplina* 13 (1959): 109–21.

Macey, Patrick. "An Expressive Detail in Josquin's *Nimphes, nappés*." *Early Music* 31 (2003): 400–11.

Macey, Patrick. "Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Musical Patronage in Milan: Compère, Weerbeke and Josquin." *Early Music History* 15 (1996): 147–212.

Macey, Patrick. "Josquin and Musical Rhetoric: *Miserere mei Deus* and Other Motets." In Richard Sherr, ed., *The Josquin Companion*, 485–530. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Macey, Patrick. "Some Thoughts on Josquin's *Illibata dei virgo nutrix* and Galeazzo Maria Sforza." In Albert Clement and Eric Jas, eds, *From Ciconia to Sweelink. Donum natalicium Willem Elders*, 115–18. Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi B.V., 1994.

Macklin, Christopher. "Plague, Performance and the Elusive History of the Stella celi extirpavit." *Early Music History* (2010): 1–31.

Mahrt, William. "Guillaume Dufay's Chansons in the Phrygian Mode." *Studies in Music from the University of Western Ontario* 5 (1980): 81–98.

Maillard-Luypaert, Monique. "D'une 'Image de Notre-Dame', l'autre genèse et origines de la dévotion à Notre-Dame de Grâce de Cambrai au 15e siècle." In Catherine Vincent and Jacques Pycke, eds, *Cathédrale et pèlerinage aux époques médiévale et moderne: Reliques, processions et devotions à l'église-mère du diocese*, 175–97. Louvain-la-Neuve: Collège Érasme, 2010.

Main, Alexander. "Maximilian's Second-Hand Funeral Motet." *The Musical Quarterly* 48 (1962): 173–89.

Marrow, James H. "Artistic Identity in Early Netherlandish Painting: The Place of Rogier van der Weyden's *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin*." In Carol J. Purtle, ed., *Rogier van der Weyden, St Luke Drawing the Virgin: Selected Essays in Context*, 53–9. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997.

Masi, Michael. "Iconography of the Liberal Arts."*Latomus* 33 (1974): 57–75.

Massenkeil, Günther. "Zur Lamentationskomposition des 15. Jahrhunderts." *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 18 (1961): 103–14.

Mattfeld, Jacqueline A. "Some Relationships between Texts and Cantus Firmi in the Liturgical Motets of Josquin des Pres." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 14 (1961): 159–83.

Matthew, Louisa C. "The Painter's Presence: Signatures in Venetian Renaissance Pictures." *The Art Bulletin* 80 (1998): 616–48.

McDowell, Laura Pollie. "Death in the Renaissance: Musical Symbols and Styles in Commemorative Motets, 1460–1539." PhD diss.: Florida State University, 1991.

McMillin, Scott. *The Musical as Drama*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006.

McNamara, Jo Ann and John E. Halborg ed. and trans., with E. Gordon Whatley. "Alegund, Abbess of Maubeuge (d. ca. 684), Waldetrude, Abbess of Mons (d. ca. 688)." In *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, 235–63. Durham: Duke University Press, 1992.

Meconi, Honey, "Alamire, Pierre de La Rue, and Manuscript Production in the Time of Charles V." In Anna Zayaruznaya, Bonnie J. Blackburn, and Stanley Boorman, eds, *"Qui musicam in se habet": Studies in Honor of Alejandro Enrique Planchart*, 575–613. Edited by Miscellanea 9. Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2015.

Meconi, Honey. "Art-Song Reworkings: An Overview." *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 119 (1994): 1–42.

Meconi, Honey. "Ockeghem and the Motet-Chanson in Fifteenth-Century France." In Philippe Vendrix, ed., *Johannes Ockeghem: actes du XLe Colloque international d'études humanistes: Tours, 3–8 février 1997*, 381–402. Paris: Klincksieck, 1998.

Meconi, Honey. *Pierre de La Rue and Musical Life at the Habsburg-Burgundian Court*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Meconi, Honey. "The Range of Mourning: Nine Questions and Some Answers." In Stefan Gasch and Birgit Lodes, eds, *Tod in Musik und Kultur: Zum 500. Todestag Philippes des Schönen*, 141–56. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2007.

Meier, Bernhard. "Harmony in the Cantus-Firmus Compositions of the Fifteenth-Century." In Kevin N. Moll, ed., *Counterpoint and Compositional Process in the Time of Dufay: Perspectives from German Musicology*, 149–70. New York: Garland Publishing, 1997.

Mengozzi, Stefano. "Beyond the Hexachord: A View from Josquin's *Ut Phebi radiis*." In Thomas Schmidt-Beste, ed., *The Motet around 1500: On the Relationship of Imitation and Text Treatment?*, 299–307. Turnhout: Brepols, 2012.

Mengozzi, Stefano. "'Clefless' Notation, Counterpoint and the *fa*-degree." *Early Music* 36 (2008): 51–64.

Mengozzi, Stefano. "Constructing Difference: The Guidonian Hand and the Musical Space of Historical Others." *Studies in Medievalism* 16 (2008): 98–121.

Mengozzi, Stefano. "Josquinian Voices and Guidonian Listeners." In Barbara Haggh, ed., *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman*, 252–79. Paris: Minerve, 2001.

Mengozzi, Stefano. *The Renaissance Reform of Medieval Music Theory: Guido of Arezzo between Myth and History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Mengozzi Stefano. "*Si quis manus non habeat*: Charting Non-Hexachordal Musical Practices in the Age of Solmisation." *Early Music History* 26 (2007): 181–218.

Mengozzi, Stefano. "Virtual Segments: The Hexachordal System in the Late Middle Ages." *The Journal of Musicology* 23 (2006): 426–67.

Meyer, Christian. "La tradition du Micrologus de Guy d'Arezzo. Un contribution à l'histoire de la réception du text." *Revue de Musicologie* 83 (1997): 5–31.

Milsom, John. "*Circumdederunt*: A Favourite Cantus Firmus of Josquin's?" *Soundings* 9 (1982): 2–10.

Milsom, John. "'Imitatio,' 'Intertextuality,' and Early Music." In Suzannah Clark and Elizabeth Eva, eds, *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned*, 146–59. Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music 4. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2005.

Milsom, John. "Motets for Five or More Voices." In Richard Sherr, ed., *The Josquin Companion*, 281–320, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Montagna, Gerald. "Caron, Hayne, Compère: A Transmission Reassessment." *Early Music History* 7 (1987): 107–157.

Morel, Philippe. *Renaissance dionysiaque: Inspiration bachique, imaginaire du vin et de la vigne dans l'art européen (1430–1630)*. Paris: Éditions du Félin, 2015.

Morrall, Andrew. *Jorg Breu the Elder: Art, Culture and Belief in the Reformation Augsburg*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2001.

Morwood, James, ed. *Pocket Oxford Latin Dictionary: Latin-English*. Oxford University Press, 2012.

Moyer, Ann E. *Musica Scientia: Musical Scholarship in the Italian Renaissance*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992.

Murray, Bain. "Jacob Obrecht's Connection with the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp." *Revue Belge de Musicologie* 11 (1957): 125–33.

Murray, Russell E., Jr., Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus, eds, *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010.

Musacchio, Jacqueline Marie. *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999.

Naruo, Yamamoto. "Masters of the Choirboys and the Strategies of Their Appointment at the Cathedral of Cambrai, 1459–1539." *Ongakugaku* 49 (2003): 155–68.

Natvig, Mary. "The Latin-Texted Works of Antoine Busnois." PhD Diss., University of Rochester, 1991.

Niemöller, Klaus Wolfgang. "*Super voces musicales*: Deutsche Hexachord kompositionen im Lichte der Musiktheorie und in ihrem europäischen Kontext." In Wolfgang Osthoff, Frank Heidlberger, and Reinhard Wiesend, eds, *Von Isaac bis Bach—Studien zur älteren deutschen Musikgeschichte: Festschrift Martin Just zum 60. Geburtstag*, 127–137. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991.

Noble, Jeremy. "Josquin Desprez." In *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 9. London: Macmillan, 1980.

Noone, Michael. "Toledo Cathedral's Lost 'magnifique livre de messes' Recovered, and 'New' Works by Boluda, Palomares and Navarro." *Early Music* 34 (2006): 561–86.

Nosow, Robert. *Ritual Meanings in the Fifteenth-Century Motet*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Nosow, Robert. "Song and the Art of Dying." *The Musical Quarterly* 82 (1998): 537–50.

Oberhänsli-Widmer, Gabrielle. *La complainte funèbre du Haut Moyen Age français et occitan*. Berne: Francke, 1989.

Owens, Jessie Ann. *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450–1600*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Owens, Jessie Ann. "An Isaac Autograph." In John Kmetz, ed., *Music in the German Renaissance*, 27–53. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Owens, Jessie Ann. "How Josquin Became Josquin: Reflections on Historiography and Reception." In Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings, eds, *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, 272–80. Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997.

Owens, Jessie Ann. "The Milan Partbooks: Evidence of Cipriano de Rore's Compositional Process." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984): 270–98.

Owens, Jessie Ann. "Music Historiography and the Definition of 'Renaissance.'" *Notes* 47 (1990): 305–30.

Owens, Jessie Ann. "Waelrant and Bocedization: Reflections of Solmization Reform." In Eugeen Schreurs and Henri Vanhulst, eds, *Music Fragments and Manuscripts in the Low Countries: Alta Capella; Music and Printing in Antwerp and Europe in the 16th Century*, 377–93. Leuven: Alamire Foundation, 1997.

Pack, Timothy. "Ostinato-Tenor Motet Composition, *c.* 1500." In Thomas Schmidt-Beste, ed., *The Motet around 1500: On the Relationship of Imitation and Text Treatment?*, 277–97. Turnhout: Brepols, 2012.

Palisca, Claude V. "Boethius in the Renaissance." In André Barbera, ed., *Music Theory and Its Sources: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, 259–80. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990.

Palisca, Claude V. *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985.

Park, Eulmee. "*De preceptis artis musicae* of Guilielmus Monachus: A New Edition, Translation, and Commentary." PhD diss.: Ohio State University, 1993.

Parrish, Carl. *The Notation of Medieval Music*. New York: Norton, 1959. Reprinted New York: Pendragon,1978.

Perkins, Leeman L. "The *L'homme armé* Masses of Busnoys and Okeghem: A Comparison." *The Journal of Musicology* 3 (1984): 363–96.

Perkins, Leeman L. "Modal Species and Mixtures in a Fifteenth-Century Chanson Repertory." In Ursula Günther, Ludwig Finscher, and Jeffrey Dean, eds, *Modality in the Music of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, 177–202. Musicological Studies & Documents, 49. American Institute of Musicology, 1996.

Perkins, Leeman L. "Ockeghem's *Prenez sur moi*: Reflections on Canons, Catholica, and Solmization." *Musica Disciplina* 44 (1990): 119–83.

Pesce, Dolores. "Guido d'Arezzo, *Ut queant laxis*, and Musical Understanding." In Russell E. Murray, Jr., Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus, eds, *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, 25–36. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010.

Peters, Gretchen. *The Musical Sounds of Medieval French Cities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Peters, Gretchen. "Urban Minstrels in Late Medieval Southern France: Opportunities, Status and Professional Relationships." *Early Music History* 19 (2000): 201–35.

Phillips, Peter and Avery Burton. "A Commentary on Avery Burton's *Mass on the Hexachord*." *Early Music* 7 (1979): 218–21.

Picker, Martin. "Josquiniana in Some Manuscripts at Piacenza." In Edward E. Lowinsky with Bonnie J. Blackburn, eds, *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference 1971*, 247–60. London, 1976.

Picker, Martin. "Musical Laments for King Philip of Castile and His Musician Alexander Agricola." *Revista de Musicología* 16 (1993): 2684–95.

Picker, Martin. "Reflections on Ockeghem and *Mi-Mi*." In Philippe Vendrix, ed., *Johannes Ockeghem: actes du XLe Colloque international d'études humanistes : Tours, 3–8 février 1997*, 415–32. Paris: Klincksieck, 1998.

Pike, Lionel. *Hexachords in Late-Renaissance Music*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998.

Pirrotta, Nino. "Music and Cultural Tendencies in 15th-Century Italy." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 19 (1966): 127–61.

Planchart, Alejandro. "The Books that Guillaume Du Fay Left to the Chapel of Saint Stephen." In Franco Bernabei and Antonio Lovato, eds, *Sine musica nulla disciplina . . . Studi in onore di Giulio Cattin*, 175–212. Padua: Il poligrafo, 2006.

Planchart, Alejandro. "Choirboys in Cambrai in the Fifteenth Century." In Susan Boynton and Eric Rice, eds, *Young Choristers: 650–1700*, 123–45. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2008.

Planchart, Alejandro. "Four Motets of Guillaume Du Fay in Context." In Kristine K. Forney and Jeremy L. Smith, eds, *Sleuthing the Muse: Essays in Honor of William* F. *Prizer*, 13–30. Festschrift Series No. 26. Hillsdale: Pendragon Press, 2012.

Planchart, Alejandro Enrique. "The Early Career of Guillaume Du Fay." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46 (1993): 345–46.

Planchart, Alejandro Enrique. "Guillaume Du Fay's Benefices and His Relationship to the Court of Burgundy." *Early Music History* 8 (1988): 117–71.

Planchart, Alejandro Enrique. "Guillaume Du Fay's Second Style." In Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings, eds, *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, 307–40. Michigan, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1997.

Planchart, Alejandro Enrique. "Notes on Guillaume Du Fay's Last Works." *Journal of Musicology* 13 (1995): 55–72.

Planchart, Alejandro Enrique. "Notes on Heinrich Isaac's *Virgo prudentissima*." *The Journal of Musicology* 28 (2011): 81–117.

Plumley, Yolanda. "Intertextuality in the Fourteenth-Century Chanson." *Music & Letters* 84 (2003): 355–77.

Plumley, Yolanda. "Playing the Citation Game in the Late 14th-Century Chanson." *Early Music* 31 (2003): 20–40.

Plumley, Yolanda and Anne Stone. "Buying Books, Narrating the Past: Owning a Medieval Music Manuscript." *Journal of the Early Book Society* 7 (2004): 85–101.

Prizer, William. "Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries: Philip the Fair and the Order of the Golden Fleece." *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 113–53.

Reese, Gustave. Music in the Renaissance. New York: Norton, 1959.

Régnier, Jean. *Les Fortunes et Adversitez de Jean Régnier*. Edited by Eugénie Droz. Paris: Librarie Ancienne Édouard Champion, 1923.

Reynolds, Christopher. "Aspects of Clerical Patronage and Musical Migration in the Renaissance." *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance* 5 (1993): 245–64.

Reynolds, Christopher. "The Counterpoint of Allusion in Fifteenth-Century Masses." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45 (1992): 228–60.

Reynolds, Christopher. "Interpreting and Dating Josquin's *Missa Hercules dux ferrariae*." In Honey Meconi, ed., *Early Musical Borrowing, Criticism and Analysis of Early Music*, 91–110. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Reynolds, Christopher. *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's, 1380–1513*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995.

Rice, Eric. "Choirboys, Memorial Endowments and Education at Aachen's *Marienkirche*." In Susan Boynton and Eric Rice, eds, *Young Choristers: 650–1700*, 163–71. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2008.

Rice, Eric. "Tradition and Imitation in Pierre Certon's Déploration for Claudin de Sermisy." *Revue de Musicology* 85 (1999): 29–62.

Rieder, Paula M. *On the Purification of Women: Churching in Northern France, 1100–1500*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Rifkin, Joshua. "Compere, 'Des Pres,' and the Choirmasters of Cambrai: *Omnium bonorum plena* Reconsidered." *Acta musicologica* 81 (2009): 55–73.

Rifkin, Joshua. "Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin's 'Ave Maria . . . virgo serena.'" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56 (2003): 239–50.

Robertson, Anne Walters. *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in His Musical Works*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Robertson, Anne Walters. "The Man with the Pale Face, the Shroud, and Du Fay's *Missa Se la face ay pale*." *The Journal of Musicology* 27 (2010): 377–434.

Robertson, Anne Walters. "The Mass of Guillaume de Machaut in the Cathedral of Reims." In Thomas Forrest Kelly, ed., *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, 100–39. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Robertson, Anne Walters. "The Savior, the Woman, and the Head of the Dragon in the *Caput* Masses and Motet." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 59 (2006): 537–630.

Rodin, Jesse. "'When in Rome . . . ': What Josquin Learned in the Sistine Chapel." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 61 (2008): 307–372.

Rodin, Jesse. *Josquin's Rome: Hearing and Composing in the Sistine Chapel*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Rolsma, Saskia M. M. "Theory in Practice: Reminiscences of Gaffurius' Music Theory in the Milanese Choirbooks." In M. Jennifer Bloxam, Gioia Filocamo, and Leofranc Holford-Strevens, eds, *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie* J. *Blackburn*, 762–69. Tours: Centre d'Etudes supérieures de la Renaissance-Brepols, 2009.

Rosand, Ellen. 'The Descending Tetrachord: An Emblem of Lament." *Musical Quarterly* 65 (1979): 346–59.

Rothenberg, David J. *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Rothenberg, David Joseph. "Angels, Archangels, and a Woman in Distress: The Meaning of Isaac's *Angeli archangeli*." *Journal of Musicology* 21 (2004): 514–78.

Rothenberg, David Joseph. "The Marian Symbolism of Spring, ca. 1200–ca. 1500: Two Case Studies." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 59 (2006): 319–98.

Rothenberg, David Joseph. "The Most Prudent Virgin and the Wise King: Isaac's *Virgo prudentissima* Compositions in the Imperial Ideology of Maximilian I." *The Journal of Musicology* 28 (2011): 34–80.

Rubin, Frances Anne. "*Car Atropos*: A Study of the Renaissance Deploration." University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill: PhD diss., 1978.

Rubin, Patricia. "Signposts of Invention: Artists' Signatures in Italian Renaissance Art." *Art History* 29 (2006): 563–99.

Russell, Eleanor. "The *Missa in agendis mortuorum* of Juan Gracía de Basurto: Johannes Ockeghem, Antoine Brumel, and an Early Spanish Polyphonic Requiem Mass." *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 29 (1979): 1–37.

Russo, Mariamichela. "Hexachordal Theory in the Late Thirteenth-Century." PhD diss.: Michigan State University, 1997.

Salmen, Walter. "The Social Status of Musicians in the Middle Ages." In Walter Salmen, ed., Herbert Kaufman and Barbara Reisner, trans., *The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century*, 1–30. New York: Pendragon Press, 1983.

Salokar, Douglas. "*Ad augmentationem divini cultus*: Pious Foundations and Vespers Motets in the Church of Our Lady in Bruges." In Barbara Haggh, Frank Daelemans, and André Vanrie, eds, *Musicology and Archival Research*, Colloquium Proceedings, Brussels, 22–23 April 1993, 306–25. Brussels: Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique, 1994.

Sandos, James A. *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004.

Sandresky, Margaret Vardell. "The Continuing Concept of the Platonic-Pythagorean System and Its Application to the Analysis of Fifteenth-Century Music." *Music Theory Spectrum* 1 (1979): 107–120.

Sargent, Joseph. "Morales, Josquin and the *L'homme armé* Tradition." *Early Music History* 30 (2011): 177–212.

Scattolin, Pier Paolo. "La Regola del 'Grado' nella Teoria Medievale del Contrappunto." *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 14 (1979): 11–74.

Schaefer, Jean Owens. "Saint Luke as Painter: From Saint to Artisan to Artist." In Xavier Barral I Altet, eds, *Artistes, Artisans et Production Artistique au Moyen Age, Colloque International, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Université de Rennes II – Haute-Bretagne, 2–6 Mai 1983*, vol. I, 413–27. Paris: Picard, 1986.

Schiltz, Katelijne. "Giunto Adrian fra l'anime beate: Une quintuple déploration sur la mort d'Adrien Willaert." *Musurgia. Analyse en pratique musicales* 10 (2003): 7–33.

Schiltz, Katelijne. *Music and Riddle Culture in the Renaissance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Schiltz, Katelijne. "Tod in Venedig: Adrian Willaert al Rezepient burlesker Lamenti." In Stefan Gasch and Birgit Lodes, eds, *Tod in Musik und Kultur: Zum 500. Todestag Philippes des Schönen*, 359–76. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2007.

Schiltz, Katelijne. "Visual Pictorialism in Renaissance Musical Riddles." *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 4 (2012): 204–21.

Schlagel, Stephanie P. "A Credible (Mis)Attribution to Josquin in Hans Ott's *Novum et insigne opus musicum*: Contemporary Perceptions, Modern Conceptions, and the Case of *Veni sancte spiritus*." *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 56 (2006): 97–126.

Schlagel, Stephanie P. "Josquin des Prez and His Motets: A Case Study in Sixteenth-Century Reception History." PhD diss.: University of North Carolina, 1996.

Schreurs, Eugeen and Jan Van der Stock. "*Principium et ars tocius* musice: An Early Example of Mensural Music Printing in the Low Countries (ca. 1500–1508)."

In Eugeen Schreurs and Henri Vanhulst, eds, *Music Fragments and Manuscripts in the Low* Countries: *Alta Capella. Music and Printing in Antwerp and Europe in the 16th Century*, 171–82. Leuven: Alamire Foundation, 1997.

Schubert, Peter. "Counterpoint Pedagogy in the Renaissance." In Thomas Christensen, ed., *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, 503–33. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Schubert, Peter. "A Lesson from Lassus: Form in the Duos of 1577." *Music Theory Spectrum* 17 (1995): 1–26.

Schubert, Peter. *Modal Counterpoint, Renaissance Style*, 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Schubert. Peter. "Musical Commonplaces in the Renaissance." In Russell E. Murray, Jr., Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus, eds, *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, 161–92. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010.

Schubert, Peter N. "From Improvisation to Composition: Three 16th-Century Case Studies." In Dirk Moelants, ed., *Improvising Early Music: The History of Musical Improvisation from the Late Middle Ages to the Early Baroque*. Collected Writings of the Orpheus Instituut. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2014.

Schulenburg, Jane Tibbetts. *Forgetful of Their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society ca. 500–1100*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Schwab, Heinrich W. "The Social Status of the Town Musician." In Walter Salmen, ed., and Herbert Kaufman and Barbara Reisner, trans., *The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century*, 31–60. New York: Pendragon Press, 1983.

Scollen, Christine M. *The Birth of the Elegy in France*. Geneva: E. Droz, 1967.

Seznec, Jean. *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*. Translated by Barbara F. Sessions. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972.

Shelemay, Kay Kaufman. "Musical Communities: Rethinking the Collective in Music." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64 (2011): 346–90.

Shephard, Tim. "Finding Fame: Fashioning Adrian Willaert c. 1518." *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 4 (2012): 12–35.

Sherr, Richard. "*Illibata Dei virgo nutrix* and Josquin's Roman Style." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41 (1988): 434–64.

Sherr, Richard. "The Medici Coat of Arms in a Motet for Leo X." *Early Music* 15 (1987): 31–35.

Slocum, Kay Brainerd. "*Confrérie, Bruderschaft* and Guild: The Formation of Musicians' Fraternal Organizations in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Europe." *Early Music History* 14 (1995): 257–74.

Smijers, Albert. "Een kleine bijdrage over Josquin en Isaac." In Daniel François Scheurleer, ed., *Gedenkboek aangeboden aan Dr. D.F Scheurleer op zijn 70sten verjaardag*, 313–19. S'Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1925.

Smijers, Albert. "Het Motet *Mille quingentis* van Jacob Obrecht." *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor nederlandse muziekgeschiedenis* 16 (1942): 212–15.

Smith, Anne. "Lasso's Two-Part Fantasies as a Didactic Tool for Solmization." *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 4 (2012): 283–305.

Smits van Waesberghe, Joseph. *Musikerziehung: Lehre und Theorie der Musik im Mittelalter*. Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1969.

Smits van Waesberghe, Joseph. "Guido von Arezzo al Musikerzieher und Musiktheoriker." In Chris Maas, ed., *Diapason de omnibus: Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Josef Smits van Waesberghe*. Buren: Knuf, 1976.

Sparks, Edgar H. *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet*, 1420–1520. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1963.

Sparks, Edgar H. "The Motets of Antoine Busnois." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 6 (1953): 216–26.

Stäblein, Bruno. "Die Schwanenklage. Zum Problem Lai-Planctus-Sequenz." In Heinrich Hüchen, ed., *Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer*, 491–502. Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1962.

Starr, Pamela F. "Musical Entrepreneurship in 15th-Century Europe." *Early Music* 32 (2004): 119–133.

Starr, Pamela F. "Rome as the Centre of the Universe: Papal Grace and Music Patronage." *Early Music History* 11 (1992): 223–62.

Stephan, Wolfgang. *Die burgundisch-niederländische Motette zur Zeit Ockeghems.* Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1937.

Stevens, Jane R. "Hands, Music, and Meaning in Some Seventeenth-Century Dutch Paintings." *Imago Musicae* 1 (1984): 75–102.

Stevens, John. *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Stoessel, Jason. "Music and Moral Philosophy in Early Fifteenth-Century Padua." In Jason Stoessel, ed., *Identity and Locality in Early European Music, 1028–1740*, 107–27.

Stoichita, Victor I. *Self-Aware Image. An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting*. Translated by Anne-Marie Glasheen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Stone, Anne. "The Composer's Voice in the Late Fourteenth-Century Song: Four Case Studies." In Philippe Vendrix, ed., *Johannes Ciconia: Musicien de la transition*, 169–94. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.

Stone, Anne. "Self-Reflexive Songs and Their Readers in the Late 14th Century." *Early Music* 31 (2003): 180–94.

Stone, Anne. "A Singer at the Fountain: Homage and Irony in Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne*." *Music & Letters* 82 (2001): 361–90.

Strohm, Reinhard. "*Hic miros cecinit cantus, nova scripta reliquit*." In Philippe Vendrix, ed., *Johannes Ockeghem: actes du XLe Colloque international d'études humanistes : Tours, 3–8 février 1997*, 139–65. Paris: Klincksieck, 1998.

Strohm, Reinhard. "Modal Sounds as a Stylistic Tendency of the Mid-Fifteenth Century: E-, A-, and C-Finals in Polyphonic Song." In Ursula Günther, Ludwig Finscher, and Jeffrey Dean, eds, *Modality in the Music of the*

Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, 149–175. Musicological Studies & Documents, 49. American Institute of Musicology, 1996.

Strohm, Reinhard. *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.

Strohm, Reinhard. "Portrait of a Musician." In Philippe Vendrix, ed., *Johannes Ockeghem: actes du XLe Colloque international d'études humanistes: Tours, 3–8 février 1997*, 166–72. Paris: Klincksieck, 1998.

Strohm, Reinhard. *The Rise of European Music: 1380–1500*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Swerdlow, Noel. "*Musica dicitur a moys, quod est aqua*." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 20 (1967): 3–9.

Tammen, Björn R. "A Feast of the Arts: Joanna of Castile in Brussels, 1496." *Early Music History* 30 (2011): 213–48.

Tammen, Björn R. "*Ibi est omnis harmonia et melodia resonans auditui*: Annäherungen and di 'beatorum gaudia'." In Stefan Gasch and Birgit Lodes, eds, *Tod in Musik und Kultur: Zum 500. Todestag Philippes des Schönen*, 111–39. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2007.

Tanay, Dorit. "*Nos faysoms contre Nature* . . . : Fourteenth-Century *Sophismata* and the Musical Avant Garde. *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59 (1998): 29–51.

Tanay, Dorit. *Noting Music, Marking Culture: The Intellectual Context of Rhythmic Notation, 1250–1400*. Holzgerlingen: Hänssler-Verlag, 1999.

Taylor, Lou. *Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1983.

Terpstra, Nicholas. *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Titcomb, Caldwell. "The Josquin Acrostic Re-Examined." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 16 (1963): 47–60.

Trachtenberg, Marvin. "Architecture and Music Reunited: A New Reading of Dufay's *Nuper rosarum flores* and the Cathedral of Florence." *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001): 740–75.

Treitler, Leo. "The Early History of Music Writing the West." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (1982): 237–79.

Trio, Paul and Barbara Haggh. "The Archives of Confraternities in Ghent and Music." In Barbara Haggh, Frank Daelemans, and André Vanrie, eds, *Musicology and Archival Research*, 44–90. Brussels: 1994.

Trowell, Brian. "Proportion in the Music of Dunstable." *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 105 (1978–79): 100–41.

Unverfehrt, Gerd. *Da sah ich viel Köstliche Dinge: Albrecht Dürers Reise in die Niederlande*. Göttingen: Hubert & Co., 2007.

Upton, Elizabeth Randell. *Music and Performance in the Later Middle Ages*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

van Benthem, Jaap. "Text, Tone, and Symbol: Regarding Busnoys's Conception of *In hydraulis* and Its Presumed Relationship to Ockeghem's *Ut heremita solus*."

In Paula Higgins, ed., *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, 215–53. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

van Benthem, Jaap. "'Prenez sur moy vostre exemple': *Signae*, Text and Cadences in Ockeghem's *Prenez sur moy* and *Missa Cuiusvis toni*." *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 47 (1997): 99–118.

van Benthem, Jaap. "A Waif, a Wedding and a Worshipped Child: Josquin's *Ut Phebi radiis* and the Order of the Golden Fleece. *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 37 (1987): 64–81.

van den Borren, Charles. "Esquisse d'une historie des *tombeaux* musicaux." *Studien zur Musikvissenschaft* 25 (1962): 56–67.

van den Borren, Charles. "Une hypothèse concernant le lieu de naissance de Josquin des Prez." In Dagmar Weise, ed., *Festschrift Joseph Schmidt-Görg zum 60. Geburtstag; gemeinsam mit seinen Kollegen, Schülern und Freunden im Auftrag des Beethovenhauses Bonn*, 21–25. Bonn: Beethovenhaus, 1957.

van der Heide, Klaas. "New Claims for a Burgundian Origin of the *L'homme armé* Tradition, and a Different View of the Relative Positions of the Earliest Masses in the Tradition." *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 55 (2005): 3–33.

van Orden, Kate. "Josquin des Prez, Renaissance Historiography, and the Cultures of Print." In Jane F. Fulcher, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, 354–80. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

van Orden, Kate. *Materialities: Books, Readers, and the Chanson in Sixteenth-Century Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.

van Orden, Kate. *Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2014.

van Overstraeten, Daniel. "Le lieu de naissance de Jean Ockeghem (ca. 1420–97): Un énigme éludicée." *Revue belge de musicologie* 46 (1992): 23–32.

Vanhaelen, Angela and Joseph P. Ward, eds, *Making Space Public in Early Modern Europe: Performance, Georgraphy, Privacy*. New York: Routledge, 2013.

Vanhulst, Henri. "Le Manuscrit C[1]." In Eugeen Schreurs and Henri Vanhulst, eds, *Music Fragments and Manuscripts in the Low Countries. Alta Capella. Music and Printing in Antwerp and Europe in the 16th Century*, 95–102. Leuven: Alamire Foundation, 1997.

Vaughan, Richard. *Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy*. Boydell Press: London, 1973, 2002.

Voss, Angela. "*Orpheus redivivus*: The Musical Magic of Marsilio Ficino." In Michael J. B. Allen and Valery Rees, eds, with Martin Davies, *Marsilio Ficino: His Theology, His Philosophy, His Legacy*, 227–41. Cologne: Brill, 2001.

Vredeveld, Harry. "'Lend a Voice': The Humanist Portrait Epigraph in the Age of Erasmus and Dürer." *Renaissance Quarterly* 66 (2013): 509–67.

Wagstaff, Grayson. "Music for the Dead and Control of Ritual Behavior in Spain, 1450–1550." *The Musical Quarterly* 82 (1998): 551–63.

Wagstaff, George Grayson. "Music for the Dead: Polyphonic Settings of the *Officium* and *Missa pro defunctis* by Spanish and Latin American Composers before 1630." PhD diss.: University of Texas at Austin, 1995.

Wallner, Bertha. "Sebastian Virdung von Amberg: Beiträge zu seiner Lebensgeschichte." *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 24 (1911): 85–106.

Walsh, Richard. "Music and Quattrocento Diplomacy: The Singer Jean Cordier between Milan, Naples and Burgundy in 1475." *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 60 (1978): 439–42.

Wang, Aileen June. "Michelangelo's Signature." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 35 (2004): 447–73.

Warmington, Flynn. "The Ceremony of the Armed Man: The Sword, the Altar, and the *L'homme armé* Mass." In Paula Higgins, ed., *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, 89–130. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.

Warner, Michael. "Publics and Counterpublics." *Public Culture*, 14 (2002): 49–90.

Warren, Charles W. "*Punctus organi* and *Cantus coronatus* in the Music of Dufay." In Allan Atlas, ed., *Papers Read at the Dufay Quincentenary Conference, Brooklyn College*, *Dec. 6–7, 1974*, 128–43. New York: Brooklyn College, 1976.

Wathey, Andrew. "The Peace of 1360–1369 and Anglo-French Musical Relations." *Early Music History* 9 (1990): 129–74.

Wegman, Rob. "And Josquin Laughed . . . Josquin and the Composer's Anecdote in the Sixteenth Century." *Journal of Musicology* 17 (1999): 319–57.

Wegman, Rob. "Another Mass by Busnoys?" *Music & Letters* 71 (1990): 1–19.

Wegman, Rob. "*Anthoni usque limina* and the Order of Saint-Anthoine-en-Barbefosse in Hainaut." *Studi musicali* 17 (1988): 15–31.

Wegman, Rob. *Born for the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.

Wegman, Rob. *The Crisis of Music in Early Modern Europe, 1470–1530*. New York: Routledge, 2005.

Wegman, Rob. "For Whom the Bell Tolls: Reading and Hearing Busnoys's *Anthoni usque limina*." In Dolores Pesce, ed., *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, 122–41. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Wegman, Rob. "From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450–1500." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49 (1996): 409–79.

Wegman, Rob. "Isaac's Signature." *The Journal of Musicology* 28 (2011): 9–33.

Wegman, Rob. "The Minstrel School in the Late Middle Ages." *Historic Brass Society Journal* 14 (2002): 11–30.

Wegman, Rob. "*Miserere supplicanti Dufay*: The Creation and Transmission of Guillaume Dufay's *Missa Ave regina celorum*." *Journal of Musicology* 13 (1995): 18–54.

Wegman, Rob. "Musical Offerings in the Renaissance." *Early Music* 33 (2005): 425–37.

Wegman, Rob. "Music and Musicians at the Guild of Our Lady in Bergen ob Zoom, c. 1470–1500." *Early Music History* 9 (1990): 175–249.

Wegman, Rob. "Obrecht and Erasmus." *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 3 (2011): 109–23.

Wegman, Rob. "Ockeghem, Josquin and Brumel: New Documents from Troyes." *Early Music* 36 (2008): 203–15.

Wegman, Rob. "*Pater meus agricola est*: The Early Years of Alexander Agricola." *Early Music* 34 (2006): 375–89.

Wegman, Rob. "Publication before Printing: How Did Flemish Polyphony Travel in Manuscript Culture?" In Hanno Wijsman, ed., with Ann Kelders and Susie Speakman Sutch, *Books in Transition at the Time of Philip the Fair. Manuscripts and Printed Books in the late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Century Low Countries*, 165–80. Burgundica XV. Turnhaut: Brepols, 2011.

Wegman, Rob. "The Testament of Jean de Saint Gille (†1501)." *Revue de musicologie* 95 (2009): 7–36.

Wegman, Rob C. "Agricola, Bordon and Obrecht at Ghent: Discoveries and Revisions." *Revue belge de Musicologie* 51 (1997): 23–62.

Wegman, Rob C. "'Musical Understanding' in the 15th Century." *Early Music* 30 (2002): 47–66.

Wegman, Rob. C. "Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus almus* and the Early History of the Four-Voice Mass in the Fifteenth Century." *Early Music History* 10 (1991): 235–303.

Wegman, Rob, C. "Who Was Josquin?" In Richard Sherr, ed., *The Josquin Companion*, 21–50. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Weiss, Susan Forscher. "Bologna Q 18: Some Reflections on Content and Context." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41 (1988): 63–101.

Weiss, Susan Forscher. "*Disce manum tuam si vis bene discere cantum*: Symbols of Learning in Music in Early Modern Europe." *Music in Art* (2005): 35–74.

Weiss, Susan Forscher. "The Manuscript Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Codex Q 18 (olim 143): A Bolognese Instrumental Collection of the Early Cinquecento." PhD diss.: University of Maryland, 1985.

Weiss, Susan Forscher. "Vandals, Students, or Scholars? Handwritten Clues in Renaissance Music Textbooks." In Russell E. Murray, Jr., Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus, eds, *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed., 207–46. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010.

Weller, Philip. "Rites of Passage: *Nove cantum melodie*, the Burgundian Court, and Binchois's Early Career." In Andrew Kirkman and Dennis Slavin, eds, *Binchois Studies*, 49–84. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Wexler, Richard. "In Search of the Missing Movements of Ockeghem's Requiem." In Barbara Haggh, ed., *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman*, 59–88. Paris: Minerve, 2001.

Wexler, Richard. "Ockeghem and Politics." *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 47 (1997): 5–32.

Whaley, Joachim. *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*. London: Europa Publications, 1981.

White, Eric Marshall. "Rogier van der Weyden, Hugo van der Goes, and the Making of the Netherlandish St. Luke Tradition." In Carol Purtle, ed., *Rogier van der Weyden, St. Luke Drawing the Virgin: Selected Essays in Context*, 39–48. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997.

Wickham, Edward. "Recording for Posterity: Some Reflections on the Memorialising of Early Renaissance Music." In Melania Bucciarelli and Berta Joncus, eds, *Music as Social and Cultural Practice: Essays in Honour of Reinhard Strohm*, 74–85. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2007.

Wilson, Blake. "Heinrich Isaac among the Florentines." *The Journal of Musicology* 23 (2006): 97–152.

Wilson, Blake. "Isaac the Teacher: Pedagogy and Literacy in Florence, ca. 1488." In Russell E. Murray, Jr., Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus, eds, *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, 287–302. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010.

Wilson, Blake. *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

Wilson, Blake. "Poliziano and the Language of Lament from Isaac to Layolle." In Kristine K. Forney and Jeremy L. Smith, eds, *Sleuthing the Muse: Essays in Honor of William* F. *Prizer*, 85–114. Festschrift Series No. 26. Hillsdale: Pendragon Press, 2012.

Wilson, Bronwen and Paul Yachnin, eds, *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe: People, Things, Forms of Knowledge*. New York: Routledge, 2010.

Wilson, Jean C. "Reflections on St. Luke's Hand: Icons and the Nature of Aura in the Burgundian Low Countries during the Fifteenth Century." In Robert G. Ousterhout and Leslie Brubaker, eds, *The Sacred Image East and West*, 132–46. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995.

Winston-Allen, Anne. *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997.

Winternitz, Emanuel. "Muses and Music in a Burial Chapel: An Interpretation of Filippo Lippi's Window Wall in the Cappella Strozzi." In *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art*, 166–84. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1979.

Wolf, Gerhard. "Icons and Sites: Cult Images of the Virgin in Mediaeval Rome." In Maria Vassilaki, ed., *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, 23–50. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.

Wood, Christopher S. "Maximilian I as Archeologist." *Renaissance Quarterly* 58 (2005): 1128–74.

Wood, Kim. "Byzantine Icons in the Netherlands, Bohemia and Spain during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries." In Angeliki Lymberopoulou and Rembrandt Duits, eds, *Byzantine Art and Renaissance Europe*, 135–56. Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2013.

Woodley, Ronald. "Tinctoris and Nivelles: The Obit Evidence." *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 1 (2009): 110–21.

Woods-Marsden, Joanna. *Renaissance Self-Portraiture: The Visual Construction of Identity and the Social Status of the Artist*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998.

Wright, Craig. "Antoine Brumel and Patronage at Paris." In Iain Fenlon, ed., *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, 37–60. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Wright, Craig. "Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28 (1975): 175–229.

Wright, Craig. "Dufay's *Nuper rosarum flores*, King Solomon's Temple, and the Veneration of the Virgin." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47 (1994): 395–441.

Wright, Craig. *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Wright, Craig. *Music at the Court of Burgundy 1364–1419: A Documentary History*. Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979.

Wright, Craig. "Performance Practices at the Cathedral of Cambrai 1475–1550." *The Musical Quarterly* 64 (1978): 295–328.

Wright, Craig. "Tapissier and Cordier: New Documents and Conjectures." *Musical Quarterly* 59 (1973): 177–89.

Wright, Craig and Nanie Bridgman. "Musiciens à la cathédrale de Cambrai, 1475–1550." *Revue de Musicologie* 62 (1976): 204–28.

Wright, Craig M. *The Maze and the Warrior: Symbols in Architecture, Theology, and Music*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Wright, Peter. "Paper Evidence and the Dating of Trent 91." *Music and Letters* 76 (1995): 487–508.

Wright, Peter. "Watermarks and Musicology: The Genesis of Johannes Wiser's Collection." *Early Music History* 22 (2003): 247–332.

Yudkin, Jeremy. "The Influence of Aristotle on French University Music Texts." In André Barbera, ed., *Music Theory and Its Sources: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, 173–89.

Zanovello, Giovanni. "'In the Church and in the Chapel': Music and Devotional Space in the Florence Church of Santissima Annunziata." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67 (2014): 379–428.

Zanovello, Giovanni. "'Master Arigo Ysach, Our Brother': New Light on Isaac in Florence, 1502–17." *Journal of Musicology* 25 (2008): 287–317.

Zazulia, Emily. "The Transformative Impulse." In Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodi, eds, *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*, 587–601. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Web Resources

Brumel, Antoine. *Misse Brumel* (Venice: Petrucci, 1503). *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*. Web. www.onb.ac.at.

Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 38. *CANTUS Database*. Web. http://cantusdatabase.org.

Christoffersen, Peter Woetmann, ed. and commentary. *The Copenhagen Chansonnier and the "Loire Valley" chansonniers*. Web. www.pwch.dk/.

Compere, Loyset. "Virgo celesti." In the *Tschudi Songbook SGallS 463. E-codices: Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland*. Web. www.e-codices.unifr.ch/.

Copenhagen Chansonnier. *The Royal Library: National Library of Denmark and Copenhagen University Library*. Web. www.kb.dk.

des Prez, Josquin. *Illibata dei virgo nutrix* from *Motetti a cinque* (*Venice*, *1508*). *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*. Web. www.onb.ac.at.

Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (DIAMM). Web. www.diamm.ac.uk.

Douay-Rheims and Latin Vulgate Online. 2001–2013. Web. www.drbo.org.

Gehl, Paul. F. *Humanism for Sale: Making and Marketing Schoolbooks in Italy, 1450–1650*. Newberry Library Center for Renaissance Studies. Web. www.humanismforsale.org.Grove Music Online. Web. www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

Haggh, Barbara. "Foundations at Cambrai Cathedral." Web. http://archive.music.umd.edu/Faculty/haggh-huglo, dated October 6, 2004.

ModE A.X.I.II. Digitized by DIAMM. *Biblioteca estense universitaria*. Web. http://bibliotecaestense.beniculturali.it.

Philomathes, Václav. *Musicorum libri quatuor* http://dl.ub.uni-freiburg.de/diglit/philomathes1512.

Planchart, Alejandro, ed. *The New Guillaume Du Fay Opera Omnia*. Web. www.diamm.ac.uk/resources/music-editions/du-fay-opera-omnia/.

Reisch, George. *Margarita philosophica* (Freiburg: Johann Schott, 1503). *Getty Research Institute*. Web. http://archive.org.

Tinctoris, Johannes. *Johannes Tinctoris: Complete Theoretical Works*. Maintained by Ronald Woodley, Jeffrey J. Dean, and David Lewis. *Early Music Theory*. Web. http://earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris.

Tinctoris, Johannes. *The Theoretical Works of Johannes Tinctoris: A New Online Edition*. Edited by Ronald Woodley. Web. www.stoa.org/tinctoris/tinctoris.html.

Trent codices. *Trentino Cultura*. Web. www.trentinocultura.net.

Vitruvius. *De Architectura* (Perugia: Bigazzini, 1536). Translated and commentary by Giovanni Battista Caporali. *University of Heidelberg*. Web. http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de.

Index

acrostic, 2, 31, 35, 53, 56, 208, 210, 211
  for choirboys, 31, 34, 55, 80
  of Busnoys, 78
  of Du Fay, 33, 51
  of Josquin, 1, 7, 209
  of Pierre de Castel, 31, 32
  of Robert Auclou, 20
Agricola, Alexander
  Cecus non judicat, 168
Alamire, Petrus, 42
Alanus, Johannes
  Sub Arturo plebs, 6
anagram, 57, 58, 160
Andrieu, Franciscus
  "Armes amours / O flour des flours," 95
antiphon, 51
  Ave regina, 26
  Regina celi, 142
  Salve regina, 94
  Virgo prudentissima, 212
Appenzeller, Benedictus, 118
ars subtilior, 57, 58, 59, 135
artists, 2, 11, 13, 14, 17, 127, 133
Auclou, Robert, 20
authorship, 2, 56, 79, 110, 117, 160

benefices, 15, 90
Binchois, Gilles, 51, 53, 79, 96, 98, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108, 121, 218
  Novum cantum melodie, 6
Books of Hours, 23, 36, 67
Bouts, Dieric, 129
  St. Luke Drawing the Virgin, 130
Brumel, Antoine, 133, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 154, 164, 176, 177, 178, 184, 185, 186, 194, 197, 205, 208
  Missa Ut re mi fa sol la, 141, 144, 175
Burgundy
  court of, 20, 104
Busnoys, Antoine, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 82, 87, 112, 133, 158, 160, 161, 163, 164, 174, 201
  Anthoni usque, 74, 77, 125, 160, 208
  In hydraulis, 74, 94, 201, 208
Buxheim Organ Book, 185

Cambrai Cathedral, 6, 17, 20, 21, 22, 26, 31, 48, 49, 53, 62, 94
candles, 81, 82
canon, 139
  as puzzle, 134, 137
  clefless, 138
  in hexachordal cantus firmus, 193
  in laments, 46, 108, 112
  in masses, 142
  mensuration canon, 133, 136, 142
  with solmization, 139
cantus firmus, 185
  and alliteration of text, 150
  and Du Fay's last will and testament, 39
  and melody of, 164
  and mensuration, 143, 156
  and music theory, 161, 163, 195, 205
  and Petrucci, 167
  and polyphony, 195
  and technique, 41
  and the *Requiem Mass*, 108, 117, 121
  as emblem, 208
  canonic cantus firmus, 115, 116, 196
  function of, 41
  hexachordal, 145, 147, 158, 167, 168, 175, 178, 186, 201, 205
  homographic, 141, 142, 143, 144
  in canon, 197
  in chanson-laments, 104
  in laments, 45, 46, 72, 90, 111, 113, 114
  in Latin, 53
  in masses, 2, 138, 140, 145, 146, 150, 177, 184, 185, 186, 192, 194
  in motet-chansons, 88
  in motets, 1, 27, 28, 32, 42, 51, 66, 108, 126, 141, 150, 153, 197, 203, 212
  in music education, 177
  melody of, 72
  motto of, 89, 145
  symbolic meaning of, 167, 169, 216

Castel, Pierre de, 27, 31, 32
chanson, 63, 64, 66, 69, 70, 72, 73, 95, 101, 102, 103, 192
  ballade, 28, 104
  as commemoration, 20
  rondeau, 64, 102
Chantilly Codex, 53, 58, 59, 61, 95
Charles the Bold, 47, 76, 160
Chartier, Alain, 102, 103
Chigi Codex, 136
churching, 81
Cochlaeus, 175
commemoration, 20, 24, 37, 63, 95, 110, 116, 117, 118
community, 11, 128, 134, 216
  of artists, 14, 133
  in music, 3, 4, 6, 16, 20, 34, 38, 40, 41, 53, 56, 57, 62, 63, 64, 74, 78, 79, 80, 81, 92, 94, 95, 96, 100, 104, 106, 108, 114, 118, 120, 122, 209, 213, 216, 219
  professional, 25, 26, 52, 120
    in music, 56
  social network, 20
companions of music, 15
Compere, Loyset, 1, 3, 52, 63, 64, 67, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 78, 79, 82, 83, 85, 87, 92, 95, 203
  Omnium bonorum plena, 61, 92, 94, 210
  Sile fragor, 1, 85, 87, 218
  Virgo celestis, 197
Compline, 26, 36, 37
composers
  professional, 3, 4, 5, 17, 25, 44, 52, 53, 56, 62, 74, 75, 79, 106, 108, 196, 208
compositional techniques, 2
  polyphony, 26, 33, 36, 46, 47, 48, 49, 61, 64, 69, 70, 81, 82, 92, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 110, 114, 120, 121, 130, 136, 137, 142, 153, 157, 167, 178, 190, 193, 194, 195, 196, 205, 212
  soggetto cavato, 44, 148, 159, 212, 226
  stretto fuga, 67, 69
confraternities, 11, 24, 38, 56, 78, 79, 114, 218
contenance angloise, 41
Coter, Colijn de, 129, 133
Cumming, Julie, 36, 41, 99, 100, 112, 195

d'Amerval, Eloy, 144, 145, 146, 150, 164
  Missa Dixerunt discipuli, 141, 143, 144
d'Arezzo, Guido
  Epistola ad Michaelem, 178
  Guidonian hand, 166, 169, 171, 175, 181, 187, 196
  Ut queant laxis, 178
d'Este, Ercole I, 150, 207
deductio, 171, 175, 183
Deschamps, Eustache, 95
Desprez, Josquin, 1, 3, 7, 15, 19, 25, 56, 63, 70, 87, 91, 98, 100, 111, 112, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 139, 159, 164, 193, 197, 199, 201, 205, 209, 210, 213, 214, 215
  Absolve, quaesumus, 116, 118
  Ce povre mendiant / Pauper sum ego, 87
  Illibata dei virgo, 1, 7, 80, 85, 125, 208
  Missa Hercules dux Ferrariae, 212
  Missa L'homme armé super voces musicales, 138, 194
  Missa La sol fa re mi, 125
  Nymphes des bois, 98, 99, 111, 112, 118, 119
  Pater noster / Ave Maria, 106, 117
  Ut Phebi, 125, 193, 197
  "Vive le roy," 136
devotional image, 21, 23, 24, 42
diminution, 28, 146, 150, 184
Domarto, Petrus de, 128, 141, 143, 144, 146, 164
  Missa Spiritus almus, 141, 143, 144
donor painting, 13, 40
Du Fay, Guillaume, 6, 17, 19, 20, 22, 24, 26, 27, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 62, 63, 64, 71, 72, 73, 74, 78, 79, 82, 92, 100, 101, 102, 103, 120, 121, 160
  Ave regina celorum III, 6, 36, 39, 40, 41, 51, 74
  "En triumphant," 101, 103
  Fulgens iubar, 27, 28, 31, 33, 35, 39, 51, 55, 80
  "Hé, compaignons," 20, 51
  last will and testament, 36, 38, 39, 40
  Missa Ave regina celorum, 47
  Nuper rosarum flores, 28
Dürer, Albrecht, 1, 24

endowment, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 32, 40, 49, 51, 71, 79, 82, 95, 116
endowments for performance of, 22
epitaph, 101, 104, 108, 109, 110, 118
Eyck, Jan van
  Madonna with Chancellor Rolin, 13

Fallows, David, 25, 28, 31, 51, 101, 103, 116
Fama, 92
Feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, 28, 32

Festa, Costanzo
"Counterpoint 115", 203
food and wine, 15, 41, 85, 86
Fortuna, 91, 92, 112, 218
Franc, Martin le
Le champion des dames, 101
France
court of, 20, 104

Gaffurius, Franchinus, 5, 133, 155, 161, 163, 174, 175, 181, 182, 183, 195, 196, 200, 205, 209
Practica musice, 201, 209
Gallicus, Johannes, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 185
gamut, 44, 156, 158, 166, 167, 169, 171, 172, 175, 177, 178, 185, 188, 205
Guidonian, 3, 34, 138, 142, 147, 157, 161, 181
scala decemlinealis, 157, 158
scala generalis, 157, 158, 174, 175, 177, 178, 188
genealogy, 74, 92, 93
Ghiselin, Johannes, 133, 183, 185, 186, 194, 197, 205
Missa De les armes, 183
Ghizeghem, Hayne van, 63, 64, 74
guilds, 5, 11, 14, 15, 24, 38, 52, 56, 61, 78, 79, 114, 127, 128, 129, 133, 218
paintings of, 13, 16, 20, 25, 35, 38, 133, 164

Haggh, Barbara, 22
hexachord, 135, 175, 176, 185, 194, 212, 215
as cantus firmus, 7, 167, 168, 169, 192, 194, 195, 196, 197, 205, 234
in masses, 135, 138, 146, 147, 148, 149, 166, 175, 176, 177, 183, 184, 185, 186, 194
in motets, 125, 193, 197, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 215
symbolic meaning of, 7
Christian, 183
fictive, 44, 212
genesis of, 166
hard, 43, 89, 145, 159, 175, 176, 181, 184, 185, 186, 197, 201, 202, 213, 215
in humanistic compendia, 7, 187, 188, 190, 192, 193
in music education, 3, 5, 17, 34, 127, 134, 167, 175, 178, 196, 207
in theory treatises, 5, 7, 55, 126, 130, 157, 159, 161, 163, 171, 174, 176, 177, 183, 185, 195, 199, 200, 205, 206
natural, 89, 168, 176, 181, 185, 189, 194, 197, 201
soft, 34, 83, 84, 89, 145, 194, 202, 212, 213, 215
symbolic meaning of, 133, 171, 193, 196, 205, 216
Heyden, Sebald, 138, 139, 148, 149
De arte canendi, 138, 148
Higgins, Paula, 3, 74, 75, 160
homage, 56, 74, 121
in music, 163
in portraiture, 128
monumental, 119
monumental homage, 6
homorhythm, 151, 204, 213
hora mortis, 39, 40, 106
humanistic compendia, 196
hymn, 39, 62, 82, 204, 209
Greek hymn, 85
polyphonic, 19, 21

identity, 64, 91, 101, 150
artistic, 14, 16, 17
corporate, 6, 11, 55, 127
group, 16, 17, 57
musical, 27, 49
of Du Fay, 43
professional, 7, 8, 12, 34, 52, 58, 79, 104, 114, 125
improvisation, 74, 178, 180, 185
indulgence, 23
in-jokes, 7, 218
Isaac, Heinrich, 4, 56, 78, 131, 193, 200, 201, 202, 205, 213
O decus ecclesiae, 126, 131, 197, 218
isorhythm, 28, 51, 150
isorhythmic. *See* motet: isorhythmic motet

L'homme armé, 140, 166, 168
La Rue, Pierre de, 42
Plorer, gemir, crier / Requiem, 121
lament, 6, 100, 114, 115, 117, 121
of Andrieu, 95
before 1500, 6
of Certon, 99
of Deschamps and Andrieu, 59
déploration, 98
and development of style, 121
of Du Fay, 51, 101, 102
for Josquin, 115, 116, 117, 118, 121
of Josquin, 111, 112, 114, 119
for Machaut, 96
of Machaut, 95
of Mouton, 115
and memorializing works, 117

as monumental homages, 6
monumental lament, 117, 118, 121
musicians' laments, 16, 52, 93, 94, 96, 98, 100, 101, 112, 114, 119, 120, 121, 125, 127, 128, 209, 218
of Obrecht, 6, 101, 108, 111, 113
of Ockeghem, 96
self-reference in, 17
in Susato, *Septiesme livre*, 115, 119
and texts of, 99
Lanfranco, Giovanni Maria, 171, 195
Scintille di musica, 205
Lassus, Orlando de, 204
liberal arts, 187, 188, 192, 193
Luke, Saint, 5, 7, 13, 14, 16, 17, 22, 24, 25, 27, 34, 35, 42, 52, 75, 79, 127, 128, 129, 130, 133, 164, 218

Machaut, Guillaume de, 53, 57, 58, 59, 95, 96
as professional writer, 58
"Ma fin est mon commencement," 53, 57
"Plourez, dames," 95
manuscripts
Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta (Ms. 1013), 148
Segovia, 111
Maria lactans, 12
Marrow, James, 14, 16
Martini, Johannes, 21
Mass, 47, 48, 74, 138, 142, 143, 144, 145, 147, 176, 177, 183, 184, 194, 205, 207, 208, 234
celebration of, 139
cyclic, 41, 110, 135, 139, 140, 143, 150, 151, 177
hexachord mass, 138, 149, 175, 176
in the Chigi Codex, 136
liturgical chants from, 106
mensural transformation in, 144
and music theory, 140
polyphonic, 7, 23, 49, 51, 95, 194
self-reference in, 4, 51
settings of, 125
L'homme armé, 166
and technique, 144
texts of, 2
voices of
tenor, 42
material object, 7, 153, 164
Maximilian I, 4, 94, 187
Mellet, Simon, 35, 40
memorial services, 24, 78
mensural transformation, 59, 141, 142, 144, 145, 149, 150, 156
mensuration, 2, 5, 7, 17, 59, 100, 125, 127, 128, 135, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 148, 149, 150, 153, 155, 156, 159, 164, 165, 184, 186, 189, 190, 193, 205, 212, 213, *See* canon, mensuration canon
mode, 6, 36, 88, 111, 112, 113, 114, 121
Phrygian, 6, 112, 114, 121
money, 21, 82, 92, 179
monochord, 76, 178, 188
Mons, 50, 104
motet, 7, 33, 34, 36, 40, 49, 53, 55, 57, 59, 63, 69, 80, 82, 85, 92, 95, 98, 100, 116, 141, 142, 144, 149, 192, 203
cantus firmus motet, 20, 66, 99, 108, 109, 111, 114, 115, 118, 121, 125, 126, 140, 141
ceremonial motet, 28, 32
as commemoration, 20
connections to Books of Hours, 23, 36
connections to devotional images, 24
endowments for performance of, 21, 22, 32, 40
English motet, 28
function of, 56, 80, 82, 83, 194
hexachordal motet, 7, 148, 193, 197, 200, 201, 202, 203, 205
isorhythmic motet, 27, 35, 42, 51, 108, 194
Marian motet, 26, 28, 37, 48, 66, 69, 209, 212
musicians' motets, 3, 4, 5, 6, 16, 17, 25, 27, 39, 52, 55, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 80, 82, 85, 92, 96, 120, 121, 125, 127, 128, 209, 218
occasional motet, 41, 42, 194
performing ensembles in, 27
performing ensembles of, 22, 35, 38, 39, 53, 71, 74, 77
as personal prayer, 71
prayer motet, 1, 7, 20, 23, 24, 27, 35, 62, 72, 81, 83, 95, 106, 118, 216
self-reference in, 1, 4, 17
sources for
manuscripts, 35, 78
tenor motet, 36, 72, 73, 158, 160
uses in the liturgy, 41
voices of, 161
altus, 202, 204
tenor, 41, 73
motet-chanson, 57, 80, 88, 94, 98, 99, 104, 108, 114, 116, 119
of Johannes Ockeghem, 96
of Josquin, 92

Moulu, Pierre, 25, 52
Fiere atropos / Anxiatus est in me, 94
music education, 2, 178, 179, 181
music printing, 3, 115, 117, 121
music theory, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 16, 17, 43, 44, 52, 53, 55, 61, 62, 84, 87, 113, 121, 125, 127, 130, 132, 134, 135, 136, 138, 140, 142, 144, 149, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 163, 165, 166, 171, 172, 174, 183, 195, 199, 200, 201, 206
Greek Lesser Perfect system, 161
Musica, 5, 125, 132, 134, 147, 164, 165, 178, 187, 188, 190, 196
musical instruments
bells, 163
lute, 157, 187, 190, 200
organ, 76, 157, 163, 175, 185
trombone, 117
musical object, 6
musical practice, 7
musical works
anonymous
Alma polis religio / Axe poli cum artica, 61
Decantamus in hac die, 57, 85, 92, 208
Fletus date et lamentamini, 115
Inter densas / Imbribus / Admirabile, 61, 144
Proch dolor, 94
déplorations, 94
hymn, 203
Ut queant laxis, 203
musicians, 6
amateur, 4, 7, 61, 66, 69, 118, 126, 127, 138, 139, 149, 154, 158, 165, 193, 195, 205
choirboys, 22, 31, 33, 34, 39, 55, 62, 80, 179, 180
master of the choirboys, 22, 31, 55, 80
patrons of, 4
professional, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 31, 35, 38, 43, 44, 49, 51, 52, 55, 56, 57, 61, 62, 63, 66, 67, 69, 74, 75, 79, 80, 83, 85, 89, 91, 92, 96, 101, 104, 108, 114, 127, 130, 132, 139, 140, 151, 153, 165, 172, 172, 197, 207, 213, 215
mythology, 74, 199, 205

Obrecht, Jacob, 4, 100, 109, 111, 112, 114, 121, 125, 132, 133, 139, 142, 150, 151, 153, 154, 155, 164, 217
Inter preclarissimas virtutes, 141, 144, 149, 150, 151, 153, 154
Mille quingentis, 101, 154
Regina celi, 37, 125, 132, 135, 142, 149, 154
Obrecht, Willem, 108
Ockeghem, Johannes, 15, 74, 76, 98, 100, 104, 106, 108, 112, 114, 121, 125, 128, 133, 135, 136, 138, 139, 142, 163, 164, 201, 208
Missa Cuiusvis toni, 136, 137, 139, 142
Missa Prolationum, 125, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 142, 147
Mort tu as navré / Miserere, 96, 98
"Prenez sur moi," 137, 138, 139
Office of the Dead, 106
Order of the Golden Fleece, 196
Ornithoparchus, Andreas, 157, 175
orthography, 78, 157
Owens, Jessie Ann, 4

patron saint, 5, 13, 15, 16, 17, 24, 50, 208, 212, 216
pedagogy, 2, 5, 127, 180, 192, 201
Christian, 175
ecclesiastical, 190, 202
of music, 20, 27, 34, 171, 172, 174, 175, 199, 202, 205, 214
performance anxiety, 85
performance ensemble, 21, 34
Petrucci, Ottaviano, 7, 83, 192, 193, 195, 197, 212, 215
Misse Josquin, 56
Misse Brumel, 147, 149, 176
Motetti A, 87
Motetti a cinque, 215
Motetti libro quarto, 57, 82
plainchant, 20, 27, 85, 112, 113, 135, 140, 178, 186, 190, 196
Planchart, Alejandro, 31
polyphony, 3, 7, 19, 21, 23, 95
Pope Gregory, 133, 187
practical music, 143, 187, 188
prayers
Ave Maria, 37, 211
Ave Regina, 36, 45, 48, 51
musical, 6, 7, 17, 23, 53, 70, 83, 85, 92, 94, 118, 119, 207, 209, 216
Salve Regina, 211
preexistent music, 6, 94
professional
as concept, 18, 51, 53, 56
puns, 45, 53
solmization, 27, 34, 35, 43, 44, 51, 81, 210, 215, 218
Purgatory, 23, 62, 71, 79, 92
Pythagoras, 75, 163, 190, 202

Ramos de Pareja, Bartolomeo, 34, 166, 169, 179, 182, 183, 200
reading, 82, 181
  history of, 132, 173
Régnier, Jean, 103
Reisch, Gregor, 187, 188, 201, 205
  Margarita philosophica, 187, 190, 205
Requiem Mass, 48, 108
  Introit, 111, 112, 114, 118, 121
  melody of, 117
  sequence
    Dies irae, 106, 108
  text of, 117
rhetoric, 104
riddles, 219
Rome, 19, 20, 49, 51, 90, 110

Saint Gille, Jean de, 120
Salve service, 22, 23, 40, 41
Savoy, 19, 42, 49, 63
scala celestis, 196
scribes, 64, 89
Sebastiani, Claudio, 175
self-portrait, 13, 17, 49, 52, 128, 129, 133
  in music, 51
self-reference, 2, 4, 5, 14, 16, 17, 27, 45, 53, 57, 58
self-referential, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 25, 27, 34, 42, 44, 46, 49, 52, 53, 55, 58, 61, 74, 94, 95, 96, 125, 127, 128, 135, 150, 151, 164, 208, 215, 218, 219, 226
self-reflexive, 1, 2, 51, 52, 61, 62, 90, 133, 134, 135, 143
singing, 1, 7, 17, 34, 51, 61, 66, 71, 81, 85, 90, 92, 108, 109, 139, 153, 201, 207, 209, 214
Sistine Chapel, 19, 63
solmization, 34, 42, 43, 44, 45, 73, 137, 138, 139, 167, 169, 171, 173, 174, 178, 179, 180, 182, 186, 188, 199, 215, 216
  Guidonian, 171, 179
  hexachordal, 46, 184, 185
  models of, 17
  syllables of, 1, 5, 7, 73, 89, 125, 134, 135, 138, 139, 158, 159, 180, 183, 188, 194, 197, 203, 204, 207, 212, 213, 215
  themes of, 55
speculative music, 174
St. Gudula's Church, 24
Susato, Tylman, 115, 118, 120

tactus, 138, 148, 149, 153
tetrachord, 133, 159, 161, 175, 181, 183, 184, 187, 199, 215
Tinctoris, Johannes, 5, 19, 112, 113, 114, 125, 133, 135, 137, 139, 143, 144, 154, 155, 158, 159, 160, 164, 165, 171, 172, 174, 179, 181, 183, 216, 217
  Difficiles alios, 149, 159
  Expositio manus, 171, 173
  Liber de arte contrapuncti, 154
  Proportionale musices, 142, 155
treatises
  regula del grado, 174, 177, 180
  Vatican organum treatise, 176
triptych, 24, 129

Vinders, Jheronimus, 118
Virgin Mary, 15, 16, 18, 22, 27, 30, 40, 49, 62, 72, 74, 85, 117, 208
Vitruvius, 175
  De Architectura, 169
Voragine, Jacobus de
  Golden Legend, 31
votive altars, 23
votive services, 21

Wegman, Rob, 4, 15, 17, 25, 26, 35, 48, 56, 61, 86, 143, 144, 155, 156, 217
Weyden, Rogier van der, 12, 13, 19, 24, 52, 75, 79, 122, 127, 129, 133
  St. Luke Drawing the Virgin Mary, 12

Zarlino, Gioseffo, 137
  Le institutioni harmoniche, 67